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BY

LOGAN ESAREY, Ph. D.

Assistant Professor in Western History in Indiana University

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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MARCH, 1918

No. 1

Topenebee and the Decline of the Pottawattomie Nation

By ELMORE BARCE, Fowler, Indiana

About three miles southwest of the town of Earl Park, in Benton county, Indiana, there is a section of land, known by way of legal description as section 31, in township 26 north, range 9 west, but otherwise known as "Sumner's Indian Float," and this section was at one time set apart by treaty to the renowned Topenebee, who for forty years, was the principal chief and sachem of the Pottawattomie tribe of Indians.

The grand prairies west of the Wabash, comprising all of what is now Benton county and the greater portion of Warren, were really a part of those vast savannas of wild grass-land, interspersed with blackrush sloughs, willow-lined creeks, and pleasant groves of mixed timber, which extended as far west as the Illinois river, and which, up to about the year 1790, were grazed by herds of the American bison. About that time

A big snow, about five feet deep, fell, and froze so hard on the top that the people walked on it, causing the buffalo to perish by starvation. Next spring a few buffalo, poor and haggard in appearance, were seen going westward, and as they approached the carcasses of dead ones, which were lying here and there upon the prairie, they would stop, commence pawing and lowing, then start off again in a lope for the west. Forty years ago (i. e., forty years prior to 1878) buffalo bones were found in large quantities on the prairies; in some places, many acres were covered with them, showing where a large herd had perished, and their trails leading to and from watering places, were plainly to be seen.¹

¹ *Memories of Shaugena*, by N. Matson. Chicago, 1878.

Early settlers were familiar with great depressions and hollows in the prairie, known as buffalo wallows, and these were the last traces discernible of the giant herds.

Notwithstanding the departure of the buffalo, these great plains still held forth allurements for savage huntsmen. The pleasant groves were oftentimes situated on the margin of sparkling streams, or were blessed with springs of cool water; wild berries and nuts abounded in the wild woods; the rich alluvium of sunny slopes yielded a bountiful harvest of yellow maize; and the wilderness of grass, the banks of the creeks and the groves themselves, were threaded with numberless paths made by the feet of the timid deer. In fall and spring-time great flocks of Canadian geese and wild ducks filled every pond and depression, wild turkeys were abundant, and the great flights of wild pigeons were at times so thick as partly to obscure the sun.

The beauty and grandeur of these great level stretches of prairie, studded with groves, was incomparable. Standing on the hills to the west of Parish Grove, in Benton county, one could not only view the whole of the slope that extended for miles to the south and west, but could look over into the plains of the Illinois. To the north and east lay Hickory Grove, with a small lake to the south of it; to the north and west the prairies again, and the slopes of Blue Ridge, twelve miles away, so named because the dews of the morning made the prairies appear like a sea of blue. In the autumn, the giant blue-stem, growing so high that horsemen could tie the tops together above their heads, filled the whole plains as far as the eye could see.²

This was the land of the Pottawattomies. In 1640 the *Jesuit Relation* records that they were the neighbors of the Winnebagos in the far north. In 1670, a portion of them were on the islands in the mouth of Green Bay. They were then moving southward. Friendly with the Kickapoos, with whom they afterwards lived in mixed villages on the prairies west of Lafayette, they seemed to have joined with that tribe and the Sacs and Foxes in wiping out the last remnants of the old

² J. Wesley Whicker, *Sketches of the Wabash Valley*, published by Attica Ledger, 1916, p. 108.

Illinois Indians,³ and the three conquering tribes then divided the country between them; the Kickapoos taking the territory along the Vermillion river, the Pottawattomies the domain in eastern and northern Illinois and northwestern Indiana north of the Wabash river, while the Sacs and Foxes went further to the west. In approaching the Wabash, the Pottawattomies became trespassers upon the lands of the Miamis, but that tribe never seems to have been able to prevent their encroachments.

By other tribes the Pottawattomies were called "squatters," charged with never having had any lands of their own, and being mere intruders upon the prior estates of others. They were foremost at all treaties where lands were to be ceded, clamoring for a lion's share of the presents and annuities, particularly where the last were the price paid for the sale of others' lands, rather than their own.⁴

At the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809, the resentment of the Miamis at the unlawful claims of this tribe to the territory watered by the Wabash and its tributaries, was one of the principal obstacles to be met and overcome by General Harrison.⁵

The following account was given by Joseph Barron, interpreter to General Harrison, to Prof. W. H. Keating, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1824, as to the origin and meaning of the word "Pottawattomie":

A Miami, having wandered out from his cabin, met three Indians, whose language was unintelligible to him; by signs and motions he invited them to follow him to his cabin, where they were hospitably entertained, and where they remained until dark. During the night, two of the strange Indians stole out of the hut, while their comrade and the host were asleep. They took a few embers from the cabin, and placing these near the door of the hut, they made a fire, which, being afterwards seen by the Miami and his remaining guests, was understood to imply a council-fire between the two nations. From this circumstance the Miami called them, in his own language, Wa-ho-na-ha, or firemakers, which, being translated into the other language, produced the term by which the Pottawattomies have ever since been distinguished, and the pronounciation of which, spoken by themselves, is Po-ta-wa-to-me, in their language, "we are making a fire."⁶

³ *Fergus Historical Series*, IV, No. 27, p. 174.

⁴ *Fergus Historical Series*, IV, No. 27, p. 174.

⁵ *Indiana Magazine of History*, 1915, pp. 366-367.

⁶ *Fergus Historical Series*, IV, No. 27, p. 164.

The characteristics of these savages, who have left behind them so many names of groves, towns and streams, in northern Indiana and western Illinois, may be described in part as follows: They seem to have lived in separate roving bands, which separated or divided, "according to the abundance or scarcity of game, or the emergencies of war." They loved the remoteness and seclusion of the great prairies, from which they emerged at frequent intervals in Tecumseh's day to make raids on the white settlements in southern Indiana and in Illinois, burning the cabin of the settler, tomahawking his family, and stealing his horses. Pursuit, if not made immediately, was futile. Traveling by day and night, the murderous bands were lost in the great wilderness of the north, and the Prophet was a sure protector. The savage chief, Turkey Foot, for whom two groves have been named in Benton and Newton counties, stealing horses in far away Missouri, murdered three or four of his pursuers, and escaped to the great prairies between the Wabash and Lake Michigan.⁷ He was never taken. The cowardly and brutal massacre at Chicago, August 15, 1812, was the work, principally, of the Pottawattomies, "and their several bands from the Illinois and Kankakee rivers; those from the St. Joseph of the Lake, and the St. Joseph of the Maumee, and those of the Wabash and its tributaries were all represented in the despicable act."⁸

Unlike the Kickapoos, who were tall and sinewy, and more cleanly in their habits, the Pottawattomies were shorter and more thickly set, very dark, and squalid in appearance, and were given the significant name by the French-Canadians of "Les Poux," or those who have lice.⁹ Their language was of the rough, guttural variety,¹⁰ they used huge quantities of fire water, and were inveterate gamblers. Of all the tribes of the northwest, none were more treacherous, or prone to break a treaty, and none were more under the influence of Tecumseh and the Prophet and the British agents at Malden.

For nearly half a century, Topenebee, whose name, according to Jacob Piatt Dunn, signifies "A Quiet Sitting Bear," was

⁷ Dawson's *Harrison*, 176-177.

⁸ *Fergus Historical Series*, IV, No. 27, p. 173.

⁹ *Wau-Bun, the Early Day in the Northwest*, Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, Chicago, 1855.

¹⁰ *Fergus Historical Series*, IV, No. 27, p. 136.

their head and principal chief. He was probably born near Niles, Michigan, on the upper bend of the St. Joseph of the Lakes, for here there was located "the great Pottawattomie village, ruled over by Aniquiba, the great chief of the Pottawattomies,"¹¹ who was the father of Topenebee. Topenebee was thus of the royal blood, and the ruling clan of his tribe. His sister, Kaukeama,¹² married William Burnett, a famous French fur trader, who thereafter became very influential and powerful among the tribesmen. His sons, by this Indian princess, were unfriendly to the advancing white settlements of the West, and Abraham Burnett, in command of a mixed band of Pottawattomies and Kickapoos, is said to have laid a plan to ambush and surprise Harrison's army near Perryville, Indiana, on its march to the battleground at Tippecanoe.¹³ This plot, however, failed.

From the first, Topenebee seems to have been hostile to the United States. He was no doubt in the battle of Fallen Timbers, fought with Anthony Wayne, in 1794, for he appears as a signer of the Treaty of Greenville, Ohio, of August 3, 1795, signing that document as "Thu-Pe-Ne-Bu,"¹⁴ and the fact that he signed as the first of the "Putawatames of the River St. Joseph," shows that at that early date he was their chief and principal sachem. At an early date, Topenebee embraced the teachings of the Prophet, and became an ally of the Shawnee brothers and the British. When Tecumseh and the Prophet came to the Wabash in the year 1808, for the purpose of organizing their Confederacy of Indian Tribes to oppose the further advance of the new Republic, they settled at the mouth of the Tippecanoe on certain lands granted them by the Pottawattomies and Kickapoos, although this grant was opposed by the Miamis, who were the rightful occupants and owners of the soil. In the negotiations leading up to this transaction, Topenebee took an active part. Local tradition at Attica, Indiana, preserves the tale that

Sometime in the Fall of the year 1807, Topenebee and the Kickapoos and Pottawattomies, Miamis and Winnebagoes, met Tecumseh and his prophet beneath the spreading branches of a splendid oak that stood within

¹¹ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Recollections*, XXX, 88.

¹² *United States Statutes at Large, Indian Treaties*, 298.

¹³ *Sketches of the Wabash Valley*, p. 11.

¹⁴ *United States Statutes at Large, Indian Treaties*, 54.

the corporate limits of the city of Attica. In this council it was agreed that the Shawnee tribe, under Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, might have as their hunting ground the territory drained by Shawnee creek, and then a line drawn from there to the watershed of the Tippecanoe river, and up the Tippecanoe river about twenty miles.¹⁵

The Pottawattomie chief was thus largely instrumental in bringing the impending conflict closer to the Vincennes settlement, and in hastening incidentally the downfall of his own people. Neither is there any doubt that during the troublesome period preceding the battle of Tippecanoe and until after the War of 1812, that Topenebee and all the leading chiefs of his tribe were in close communication with the British agent, Matthew Elliott, at Malden. According to Mrs. Kinzie:

The principal men of the Pottawattomie nation, like those of most other tribes, went yearly to Fort Malden, in Canada, to receive a large amount of presents, with which the British government had, for many years, been in the habit of purchasing their alliance.¹⁶ The presents they thus received were of considerable value, consisting of blankets, broad-cloths or strouding, calicoes, guns, kettles, traps, silver-works (comprising arm-bands, bracelets, brooches and ear bobs), looking glasses, combs, and various other trinkets distributed with no niggardly hand.¹⁷

These and a vast quantity of whiskey, won them away from General Harrison and made them British allies in the War of 1812.

Topenebee, if he did not actually take part in laying the plot, was fully aware of the impending massacre of the troops of Ft. Dearborn, on August 15, 1812. This is shown by the fact that,

Early in the morning Mr. Kinzie (the trader located at the old post), received a message from To-pen-nee-bee, a chief of the St. Joseph's band, informing him that mischief was intended by the Pottawattomies, who had engaged to escort the detachment; and urging him to relinquish his designs of accompanying the troops by land, promising him that the boat containing himself and family should be permitted to pass in safety to St. Joseph's.¹⁸

Bearing in mind the close relations between the British and the Pottawattomie chiefs, the fact that this warning was

¹⁵ *Sketches of the Wabash Valley*, 18.

¹⁶ *Wau-Bun, the Early Day in the Northwest*, p. 204.

¹⁷ *Wau-Bun*, 21.

¹⁸ *Wau-Bun*, 222.

sent to a personal friend, and the further fact that Pottawattomies from the St. Joseph river were present at the slaughter, the evidence is rather strong that Topenebee was the leader in the whole affair from the beginning.

After the crushing of the Prophet in 1811, and the destruction of British influence in the northwest, consequent upon the War of 1812, the decline of the Pottawattomies was swift and appalling. The terrible ravages of firewater played no inconsiderable part. Many of their principal chieftains became notorious drunkards, reeling along the streets of frontier posts and towns and boasting of their former prowess. Topenebee was no exception. Reproached by Gen. Lewis Cass, because he did not remain sober and care for his people, he answered: "Father, we do not care for the land, nor the money, nor the goods, what we want is whiskey, give us whiskey!"¹⁹

Without leadership, without any intelligent plan of co-operation with his fellows, a prey to savage appetites and propensities, and without the knowledge or inclination to utilize his land, except to hunt thereon to relieve his immediate and pressing wants, the Pottawattomie became a wanderer and a beggar in his own country, roving here and there in quest of game, or falling into the hands of unscrupulous traders, who robbed him of his peltries and possessions for a pint of rum. To withstand the advancing tide of white immigration was impossible. Says Logan Esarey:

No description can give an accurate impression of the settlement of Indiana. One who has watched the rising waters of a flood overflow the land will appreciate the overflow of the State by the swelling tide of immigration. By 1825 the settlers were entering the northern half of the state.²⁰

Already, on October 2, 1818,²¹ there had been consummated at St. Mary's, Ohio, a treaty between the Pottawattomie nation and Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass and Benjamin Parke, whereby said nation ceded to the United States, "A large tract of country lying in central-western Indiana and eastern Illinois, fronting on the Wabash from the mouth of the

¹⁹ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Recollections*. XIV, 260.

²⁰ *History of Indiana*, Logan Esarey, 273.

²¹ *United States Statutes at Large. Indian Treaties*. 185.

Tippecanoe to the mouth of the Vermillion, and extending westward to a line drawn as nearly parallel with the Wabash as practicable, so as to strike the two latter streams twenty-five miles from their respective confluence with the Wabash; and now embraced in parts of Tippecanoe, White, Benton, all of Warren, the north half of Vermillion counties, Indiana, and the greater portion of Vermillion county, in Illinois."²²

A few years later this cession was to be occupied by herds-men and great droves of cattle, and the famous Chicago road was to run through the northern stretches of this area from the towns on the Wabash to the growing town around old Ft. Dearborn.

This was but the beginning of the retirement. On October 16, 1826,²³ there was concluded at the mouth of the Mississinewa, between the Pottawattomies and Lewis Cass, James B. Ray, and John Tipton, a treaty whereby the tribe released all claim to valuable tracts of land north and west of the Tippecanoe, along Eel river, and about Fort Wayne. This was followed by the treaty of September 20, 1828, granting a great tract in northeastern Indiana, and the final treaty on the Tippecanoe river, on October 27, 1832,²⁴ concluded between the Pottawattomies and Jonathan Jennings, John W. Davis, and Marks Crume, commissioners, wherein "the chiefs and warriors aforesaid cede to the United States, their title and interest to lands in the States of Indiana and Illinois, and the territory of Michigan, south of Grand River."

Thus, from the year 1818, to the year 1832, a short space of only fourteen years, the Pottawattomie nation had lost practically all of its valuable holdings and claims in northern Indiana and southern Michigan, and the tribe had sunk into a terrible decadence from which it was never to recover.

In all these treaties Topenabee had signed as chief sachem of his tribe, but in 1832, old, drunken and decrepit, he had fallen from his high estate as the associate of Tucemseh, and the lordly commander who had led all the bands north of the Wabash, until there was reserved for him out of all the vast prairies and woodlands of northern Indiana, but one section of

²² *Fergus Historical Series*, IV, No. 27. Note, pp. 179-180.

²³ *United States Statutes at Large. Indian Treaties*, 295-297.

²⁴ *United States Statutes at Large. Indian Treaties*. 399-403.

land—the exact language of the Treaty of 1832 was: “To Topen-ne-bee, principal chief, one section.”²⁵ This section was to be selected under the direction of the President of the United States.

The section of land thus reserved for Topenebee proved to be of no benefit either to himself or his descendants. Under authority of the President, one J. T. Douglass, on January 20, 1836, reported to the government that he had selected section 31, in township 26 north, range 9 west, as Topenebee's land. This selection was confirmed by President Martin Van Buren, on March 29, 1837.²⁶ The section thus selected was ideally located to suit a prairie Indian. From a memorandum attached to an old deed discovered in the archives of the Benton circuit court, this section, or Indian Float, was described as being at Sugar Grove, in Benton county, seven miles north of Parish Grove, and thirteen miles south of Iroquois, or Bunkum, on the Chicago road from Williamsport, Warren county, to Chicago. The west side of the section was in the eastern verge of Sugar Grove, and the entire eastern side was a prairie of Blue-stem, watered on the northern side by Sugar creek, which extended on west through the Grove into the State of Illinois. From the viewpoint of the early cattle men, it was just the location adapted for an ideal ranch. The timber afforded fuel, and also protected the herds in winter; the creek afforded an abundant supply of fresh water, and the surrounding prairie was an ideal grazing ground. Edward C. Sumner, the greatest cattle man north of the Wabash river, riding over the old Chicago road, about 1834, immediately perceived its advantages, and afterwards built a ranch on its western side and along the banks of the creek.

Long before the section was located by Douglass, however, Topenebee had parted with all his title to Alexis Coquillard. The treaty was made, as has been shown, on the 27th day of October, 1832. On November 27 of the same year, Topenebee, by a deed executed in St. Joseph county, Indiana, did

Grant, bargain, sell, convey and confirm unto the said Alexis Coquillard and David H. Colerick, and their heirs and assigns forever, all that section

²⁵ *United States Statutes at Large, Indian Treaties*, 400.

²⁶ *Final Court Record* No. 1, page 284, Clerk's Office, Benton Circuit Court. See also, *Verden vs. Coleman*, 4 *Ind.* 457.

of land called a floating reserve, made to the said To-pe-ne-bee at the Treaty of Tippecanoe, made and concluded by and between the chiefs of the Pottawattomie nation, and Jennings, Crume and Davis, commissioners.

The consideration named in the deed was eight hundred dollars, or one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, and this deed was placed on record in Benton county on July 17, 1846.²⁷

In Judge Timothy E. Howard's *History of St. Joseph County*, Alexis Coquillard is named as the founder of South Bend. He was of French descent and had served in the War of 1812 in the American Army under General Harrison, although but seventeen years of age. He later became a trader on the St. Joseph river and wielded such an influence over the Pottawattomie tribe that they would have made him their chief, if he had not prevented it.²⁸ He is mentioned by Logan Esarey as one of the traders who were present at the payment of annuities to the Indians, and at the various treaties made with the tribes. He was undoubtedly present at the treaty of October 27, 1832, for by the terms of that instrument he was paid five thousand one hundred dollars, due him for debts incurred by the Indian tribes.²⁹ Let us hope that he took no advantage of the aged and besotted chieftain of the Pottawattomie tribe. On October 7, 1846, Alexis Coquillard and his wife, Frances, conveyed this section to Edward C. Sumner for the consideration of twelve hundred dollars.³⁰

Thus passed away the last dominion that Topenebee ever exerted over the prairies, which, in his youth, he had been so familiar with. Six years after the treaty of 1832, his tribe passed beyond the Mississippi and old, feeble and broken, he retired to southern Michigan, where in August, 1840,³¹ to use the melodious language of J. Wesley Whicker, "he passed from among the inhabitants of earth and took his trackless way alone to the Happy Hunting Ground."³²

²⁷ *Deed Record No. 1*, page 214, of Benton county, Indiana. Recorder's Office.

²⁸ *History of St. Joseph County, Indiana*. Timothy E. Howard, 1907, p. 132.

²⁹ *United States Statutes at Large. Indian Treaties*, 403.

³⁰ *Deed Record No. 1*, page 323, Recorder's Office, Benton County, Indiana.

³¹ *Bureau of American Ethnology. Handbook of American Indians. Part II.*

785.

³² *Sketches of the Wabash Valley*. 18.

Lincoln In Indiana

(Continued)

By J. EDWARD MURR

LINCOLN A HOOSIER

"I am not afraid to die, and would be more than willing, but I have an irrepressible desire to live till I can be assured that the world is a little better for my having lived in it."

Although Mr. Lincoln was born in Kentucky, it is not possible by any proper method rightly to classify him as a Kentuckian in the sense that he stood forth as typical and representative of the citizenship of that great State. The extreme poverty of his parents, together with their utter lack of social standing with that dominant class usually regarded both in Kentucky as well as by those without as possessing those distinguishing traits that differentiated them from citizens of other States, makes any attempt to exalt one of Lincoln's class as typical or representative in any way of Kentucky, but little short of preposterous.

Kentucky, as has been stated, has not only produced many great sons, but has been especially fortunate in adopting others. It may be said to her credit that she has been quite as kind to the one as to the other, but the class whom she has delighted to honor has not been that one to which Lincoln belonged. Henry Clay, an adopted son, was more nearly representative of the genuine Kentuckian in the estimation of Kentuckians themselves, and certainly by those without the State, than any whom Kentucky has ever produced.

It it be true that in him were to be found those distinguishing traits more prominently than in others—traits which historians and writers generally have regarded as peculiarly differentiating—then it may be said that there are discerned

even today among the class to which he belonged these same marked traits; and being generally true as it is of her citizens, and so much so as to justify the pride they have in such a heritage, it would appear that but for the unprecedented fame of Lincoln there would have been great hesitancy to classify him as one of their number in view of the fact that he possessed nothing in common with the ruling portion of them. Certainly there was nothing in common between Lincoln and Henry Clay save their political predilections; for on the social side and in all that distinguished Clay in addition to his brilliant genius, Mr. Lincoln bore absolutely no resemblance. Lincoln was awkward, ungainly and homely to a marked degree; uneasy to the extent of being bashful in the presence of ladies; lacking culture, ease and grace; a total stranger to many of the conventionalities of polite society. And thus had he been destined to remain in the State of his birth, he would have more nearly represented the mountaineer type and such as they, rather than that other class so accustomed to such a man as Clay.

Clay was a Chesterfield in the drawing room, a Marlborough in dignity and bearing before public assemblies; so polished and refined in his manners, brilliant and fascinating in conversation, and so prepossessing in personal appearance as scarcely to have an equal; withal a statesman the peer of any and all of his day, and so persuasive, convincing and eloquent an orator, with a voice so charming as to awe vast assemblies, command listening senates and cause his one-time enemy, John Randolph of Roanoke, who sat in his invalid chair, to exclaim to his attendants: "Lift me up so that I may hear that voice once more." Henry Clay, and such as he, will ever be regarded as embodying those eminent traits bespeaking the genuine Kentuckian, rather than Abraham Lincoln, who would have been the last person to assert such a claim for himself.

Without, therefore, purposing to make invidious distinction against any, it cannot be justly charged that the claim degenerates to the level of a mere puerility when it is asserted that Abraham Lincoln was a typical Hoosier rather than a Kentuckian, and he was such not only during his residence in

Indiana, for one-fourth of his life, but it is further claimed that he remained a Hoosier throughout his great career.

State lines, of course, do not ordinarily mark the boundaries of racial characteristics or peculiarities in manners and customs of representatives of the same people, save perhaps in those instances where large rivers or mountain ranges form the boundary lines. Hence the change of residence of Mr. Lincoln to the Sangamon river country was not such as to occasion any difficulty in adjusting himself to the purely local manners, habits and customs of the people. But it is nevertheless true that there was a marked individuality and certain well-defined characteristics in speech and in habits of life typical of the Hoosier. These dominant traits of character which Mr. Lincoln acquired during a residence in Indiana of fourteen years, clung to him to the day of his death.

In his pronunciation (he began his Cooper Institute address by saying "Mr. Cheerman") his peculiar idioms, homely illustrations, figures of speech, his quaint humor and rare wit, his personal appearance, his refusal—at least failure—to readily conform to mere conventionalities in dress and many other things of that sort were pre-eminently characteristic of the pioneer Hoosier. Mr. Lincoln's hands had held the ax and maul so long as to prove rebellious when the conventionalities of men attempted to glove them. His custom was to carry his gloves on occasion, but he rarely wore them.

The genius and all that has made for fame in Indiana has in the main been south of the National Road, which runs through the State centrally from east to west. The Hoosier north of this line was as a rule an Eastern product—a Yankee—while the southern half of the State was peopled by Carolinians, Tennesseans, Virginians, Kentuckians, and a few Yankees, the latter class coming by way of the Ohio river. If there is apparent contradiction to the foregoing statement in the pride that the State of Indiana has had or now has in such men as General Lew Wallace, Senator John W. Kern and Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall and others, let it be remembered that their blood and lineage are wholly that of the southern Hoosier; the tide of emigration coming up from the South merely carried them somewhat farther north than it did others.

That there was marked illiteracy during the pioneer period goes without saying, and that there was a sad lack of refinement and culture is also quite true. But it seems to have escaped the earlier writers' notice for a time that the blood which peopled the southern portion of the State in particular was for the most part quite as good as any in the New World, and since it was this strain that was destined to produce the first typical American, Abraham Lincoln, there is the highest reason for asserting that it was of the best.

Prior to the Civil war the eastern portion of our country looked upon the West somewhat after the manner that Europe viewed the New World, in the matter of letters, up to the time of Washington Irving. The country had been accustomed to look to the Atlantic coast for leadership in substantially everything, and so strongly intrenched was this notion in the minds of the people generally that even the people of the West themselves were slow to realize that it was this section of our country that was to produce the typical American. During the formative period of our country's history the Atlantic coast was of necessity but Europe transplanted to the New World. So it became necessary to allow the tide of emigration to reach that region somewhat remote from these influences to bring forth "upon our new soil" this real dominant Americanism.

As great as was Mr. Lincoln in the estimation of the East, there are certain sections today that have never yielded the ancient notion of the East's own rightful leadership, and they refuse to allow that any good thing can come out of the West, which surpasses or even equals the East. Not that there is any vulgar opposition to the claim made by the West, so much as there is a dogged disposition to ignore the West to the point of thinking in terms of the East, and apparently not at all realizing that what we as a nation had been unconsciously striving for has been in fact consummated west of the Alleghenies.

That southern Indiana was of all places best suited to rear this great character destined to furnish the nations of the earth an example of the possibilities of the plain people is the position here taken. The odium, not to say the shame, of

being a Hoosier has, as heretofore indicated, undergone a marked change since Lincoln's time. While Mr. Lincoln was a resident of this portion of Indiana, or soon after his reaching Illinois, there were many domiciled in log cabins in this Indiana wilderness who were afterward to become famous.

It is significant that the private secretary to Mr. Lincoln, Major John Hay, who later became one of our greatest secretaries of State, was born a few miles north of where Lincoln lived; and in fifteen miles from the birthplace of Hay and a few miles to the east of Lincoln there lived Walter Q. Gresham, afterward an eminent jurist, a great soldier and also a secretary of State. Here resided Eads, of Eads jetties fame; and it was from this portion of the State that there came Generals Harrison, Hovey, Wallace, Burnside, Rosencranz and others of Civil war fame; the Lanes, James, Joseph and Henry S., and what shall we say of Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John Tipton, Governor Jennings and Joaquin Miller; of writers, jurists, orators, educators and statesmen, who subdued this wilderness, fought valiantly at Shiloh, Vicksburg, Antietam, gettysburg, or marched with Sherman to the sea? Among such a people capable of producing and rearing these, and such as these, Mr. Lincoln spent those years between seven and twenty-one. If we may be permitted to assume that the Almighty desiring early to surround his destined leader through a terrible Civil war with those influences best calculated to bring about the deliverance of a people in bondage, as well as preserve the unity and continuity of a great nation, by taking him to a free State among a people who had strong convictions against human slavery, then we may see no departure from His ancient methods in dealing with His chosen.

Jefferson Davis, who was born in a slave State and within a few miles of Mr. Lincoln, and reared in the belief of the justice of such an institution, said by way of rejoinder to President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, in a message to the Confederate congress, that "it was the most execrable measure ever recorded in the annals of guilty man." Thus we may perhaps be allowed to surmise that had Lincoln continued to reside in Kentucky his attitude, if not favorable toward slavery, at least might have been so lenient as to have

eliminated him from leadership in the nation's crisis. The Indiana residence, while freeing Mr. Lincoln from that favorable inclination that seems usually to have prevailed with those reared under its sway, was at the same time in close juxtaposition, and thus permitted him to occasionally look in upon its cruelties. It is quite generally understood that Mr. Lincoln's first view of slavery after reaching maturity was on the occasion of his celebrated flatboat trip down the Mississippi river with Allen Gentry, this being when he was nineteen years of age.

The writer, while residing in Spencer county, Indiana, a number of years since, serving a church there in the capacity of minister, had in his congregation a number of elderly men and women who remembered very well that Lincoln, while a ferryman at the mouth of Anderson creek, accompanied their neighbor, Mr. Ray, a flat-boatman, down the Mississippi river some two years prior to the celebrated trip with Allen Gentry.

The circumstance and the occasion of the trip were as follows: Lincoln, while serving as ferryman at the mouth of Anderson creek, had cultivated a crop of tobacco on the site of the present little village of Maxville, some three-fourths of a mile below the town of Troy. The tobacco field had been planted and cultivated by Lincoln during the lull of business as a ferryman, and while the tobacco had ripened, had been cut, cured and otherwise prepared for the market, Mr. Ray, well known to Lincoln, "was building a flatboat up the mouth of Anderson" preparatory to making the southern trip. Accordingly Lincoln, thinking that he saw a way for marketing his "two hogsheds of tobacco", proposed to Ray that they "strike up a trade", and on Ray asking "what sort of a trade he meant", Lincoln replied: "I've got my tobacco crop cured up and ready for market and I've got no way to get it south unless I send it by boat, and it struck me you'll need hands. You and me might get together some way. I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll go along with you at the oar if you'll take my tobacco and then pay me the difference." This proposition appealed to Ray and the bargain was accordingly made, Lincoln going along as a hand "at the oar".

William Forsythe, for many years a business man in

Grandview, Spencer county, born and reared in the town of Troy, remembered "long Abe", the ferryman. He often related to the writer the circumstance of his having been "set across Anderson by Lincoln". He stated that the boys of Troy would frequently go down to the mouth of Anderson creek to hear "Long Abe talk and tell yarns." While he failed to recall any of "Long Abe's yarns," yet he stated that when the boys had "prowled about town" and time hung heavily on their hands, some one would at such times speak up and say: "Boys, I'll tell you what let's do. Let's go down to Anderson and listen at Long Abe talk." Usually this suggestion was acted upon and they would straightway repair to the ferry. When asked as to what "Long Abe" talked about, he replied: "He would just set down and the boys 'd all get around him and he'd say things that would make them all laugh." Forsythe often related the circumstance of Lincoln's making the flatboat trip down the Mississippi river with Ray. Jefferson Ray, a son of the flatboatman, was likewise a business man, and he, as was Forsythe, was officially connected with the church of which the writer was pastor. Thus these and many others—some having personal knowledge and others relating the circumstance as received from Ray—establish beyond any doubt that Lincoln looked in upon slavery at least two years earlier than we have been accustomed to suppose.

The fact that Lincoln thus had an earlier view of slavery than is generally believed is, of course, of no great moment in any effort made to establish his opposition to that institution. That he possessed a life-long conviction that all men should be free is indisputably true; but if he did in fact, as here recorded, make this flatboat trip south at such an impressionable age (that of seventeen), and it is as clearly established as anything could well be, then it does become more or less valuable not only as furnishing him a more extended view of the effects of slavery, but doubtless in no small measure served also as a preparation for the two later journeys south in more mature years; thus enabling him to profit during the interval by meditation and reflection such as must have necessarily arisen on the occasion of the journey made in the earlier period of his life.

In addition to the foregoing, the fact of Lincoln's having made this journey South should be told now since the earlier biographers have failed to record it, and the passing of all those who could supply data and subject matter precludes the possibility of any future historian being able to glean in a field which is of course now largely, if not wholly, barren.

It should perhaps be stated in this connection that the writer found no authentic account of any definitely expressed convictions by Lincoln, covering this period, on the question of African slavery. However, James Gentry, when interrogated as to this particular, exclaimed: "Why, Abe always was against slavery!" And then he added: "But Abe followed Henry Clay around wherever he'd go in mighty nigh everything, and old Harry's notions was responsible fer Abe a bein' so slow to send out his Emancipation Proclamation. Abe'd a done it long before he did, I reckon, if his head hadn't been so full of Henry Clay's notions."

That Henry Clay was Lincoln's political ideal and possessed marked influence upon him is true, and to no small extent justifies the conviction here expressed by his old boyhood friend and associate. Lincoln, naturally conservative and of the Clay school in politics, not only saved the border States to the Union during the Civil war, but on the other hand was able sufficiently to modify his Clay notion of gradual emancipation to issue finally the Emancipation Proclamation when it appeared to be warranted by military necessity.

ONE-FOURTH OF LINCOLN'S LIFE SPENT IN INDIANA

"I tell my Tad that we will go back to the farm where I was happier as a boy when I dug potatoes at twenty-five cents a day than I am now."

Mention has been made of the fact that in many instances those who have undertaken the task of writing extensively concerning the life and character of Mr. Lincoln have professed to see comparatively little which appeared to justify special treatment beyond a few anecdotes and stories in the events of his career prior to his becoming a resident of Illi-

nois. It is strange indeed that in this day, when educators are calling attention particularly to the adolescent period of youth, that there has not been some effort beyond that hitherto attempted to note particularly this period in the life of our martyred President.

The failure to do this, especially in more recent times, is doubtless attributable in part to the fact that those who have attempted to gather suitable data have generally made hasty journeys to this field, and meeting with comparatively little success, have yielded to the belief that this period was so elusive as not to warrant any extended effort.

In view of the fact that Lincoln is so generally regarded as a model in the higher reaches of statesmanship, politics, and morals, and possessing as he did substantially all of the cardinal virtues, so that writers and speakers, both on the platform and in the pulpit, editors of magazines, the press, educators in the great universities, the schoolmaster in the "little red schoolhouse", and the plain people in the highways and about the firesides in millions of homes, are accustomed daily to recount his virtues, laud and magnify his name, therefore, if it can be shown with any degree of certainty that the formative years had much to do in shaping Mr. Lincoln's unprecedented career, then it would appear that a somewhat extended investigation of this period of his life is not without considerable interest. Moreover, if these neglected years may be made to yield a fruitful harvest, then it is but just to the memory of Lincoln that this be done, especially since he reached the heights of fame from a lower level than any other great character in history.

The only great men in American history comparable to President Lincoln by reason of early disadvantages are Horace Greely, Henry Wilson and Benjamin Franklin. If in the judgment of some there be yet others, distinctively American, deemed worthy of such comparison, these named are at least representative. They were all born in a zone of alluring chance and opportunity as compared with Lincoln. Greely and Wilson were each within a three days' tramp of educational centers, while Franklin was born and lived in one. The beaten path of travel crossed their horizon. There was no

lack of incentive and inspiring examples of patriotic men prominent in public affairs, while Lincoln's youth was far remote from any and all of those influences calculated to uplift and inspire, things usually deemed so essential in attaining unto excellence.

Lincoln's poverty, like Franklin's and Wilson's, was exceedingly great, but was in his case more easily and contentedly endured than the more exacting thing of being deprived of a chance to quench his consuming thirst for knowledge. His youthful ambition to rise in the world was native, dominating and irresistible. Denied as he was the privileges of school, access to libraries, and the association of the educated and learned, it was left for him to demonstrate the possibility of going forth to conquer, unaided by artificial and external means, save a borrowed library of seven books and becoming as he did such a master of them as to enable him in turn to master men, cope with rising events and challenge the admiration of mankind. So great were his achievements and so enduring his fame that he staggers royalty on its road with burdens of oppression into soberness and justice, and provokes and inspires by his illustrious deeds along the path from the dust-covered floor of his wilderness cabin to the nation's capitol, the peasant's son to hope. The boy Lincoln needed no incentive to acquire knowledge. To know with him was from the first a passion. He did not wish so much for examples of what learning might accomplish or produce as he did for the necessary tools with which he might fashion the boy of his day-dreams—himself—into the man he really believed himself capable of becoming.

He early learned to believe in himself, implicitly, trustfully and overwhelmingly, and no one thing was more conspicuous throughout his entire career than this, save perhaps his honesty. No President of the United States ever received more advice and listened to it more patiently than he, but no man who ever sat in the executive chair of the nation needed it less or used it more sparingly. This was characteristic of him as a youth. He gave a patient hearing to all and then followed his own counsel. He was quite self-contained and abundantly resourceful, accustomed as he was in youth, and

later in his public career, to be much on the "stump", yet his caution was so great as to make him a rather poor extemporaneous speaker. He must first think it over and then he was ready without fear or favor. He never doubted his ability to meet any emergency or master any task, and he cared but little for precedent, although he established more precedents than any other President in American history. He wrote his first inaugural address without consultation with anybody, and read this "as if he had been delivering inaugural addresses all his life." He kept his own counsel. In mature years he rarely confided in his most intimate friends. He never did fully in any of them. In youth this trait was noticeable. He was diffident on occasions, and impressed all of his associates with the idea that what he said on any given subject was but little as compared to much that he could say. He never left any one in doubt, however, as to any position taken on any subject. From the day of his youthful opposition to intemperance down to the "house divided against itself" speech, and the famous letter to Horace Greely wherein he stated that his "paramount object was to save the Union", he stood out in the open. He rescued politics from the charge of trickery and double-dealing and restored it to a place of honor, and if it has at any time since sunk down into the "mud and scum of things", it is no fault of his.

What Lincoln purposed doing or saying in any given case he carried out to the letter. Where most others jumped at conclusions, he patiently reasoned his way, and when once reached no one could by any possibility, either by persuasion or force, move him. Mrs. Lincoln once said of him: "When he has made up his mind no one can change him."

As a youth his obstinacy would have passed for stubbornness but for the manifest fairness and justness of the position taken. This, together with the fact that his sense of justice and honesty ever caused him to make amends for any mistake in judgment which he made, caused him to be invariably chosen by his associates to adjudicate differences.

Any boyhood quarrel leading to fight ended by Lincoln's opponent becoming his friend. He "got mad", but was a stranger to malice. When he said in a great state paper—

his second Inaugural Address,—“with malice toward none, with charity for all,” he was not voicing a thing learned during the terrible four years’ war; he was but announcing to the world that his lifelong disposition to hold no malice, after having been tried in the fires of four years of civil war, had come out unchanged. Had General Andrew Jackson been in his stead and given utterance to such a sentiment, we would perhaps have deemed it so at variance with his accustomed manner as to call it hypocrisy. Jackson, however, would never have uttered this sentiment at the close of a great war for the preservation of the Federal Union. It may be doubted whether we have ever had any other President who would have done so.

Young Lincoln had a fight with William Grigsby when sixteen years of age, and not only did they “make up” and become friends, but during the Civil war on one occasion when party spirit ran high, a man in Gentryville was freely indulging in criticism of Lincoln and “Bill Grigsby hauled his coat off and made him take it back”. The Lincoln critic was a local bully, and after the trouble, when Lincoln’s honor had thus been saved by proxy, Grigsby exclaimed: “No man can talk about Abe around here unless he expects to take a lickin’.”

The great Lincoln lecturers, such as Bishop Charles Fowler, Vice-President Schuyler Colfax and Col. Henry Watterson, listened to with attention and great profit by multitudes, always placed the emphasis upon other periods in Mr. Lincoln’s life rather than upon the formative years. Indeed, it cannot escape the notice of the least observant that substantially all that has ever been said upon the platform concerning Mr. Lincoln’s youth, especially as pertaining to or influencing in any way his public career, has been very largely confined to those years (the first seven) spent in Kentucky, the State of his birth.

Some of his biographers, in desiring to have him secure the supposed benefits of a longer residence in his native State than it was his fortune to have, took some liberties with certain incidents transpiring at a later period and gave them a Kentucky setting. Two biographers at least distinctly as-

sert that Lincoln was called "honest Abe", while yet a resident of Kentucky; and some of them attribute to him the ability to read and write while a mere infant, making much of his schooling in that State, and otherwise making assertions that are incompatible with reliable testimony.

The boy Lincoln learned to read quite young, and while yet a resident of Kentucky. He was, however, indebted to his mother for this rather than to Riney or Hazel, his two teachers there. The attendance at the Riney school was at the age of four, only for a very brief time, and he went simply to accompany his sister Sarah. He was seven years old when he attended the next term. Evidently he was greatly profited and made rapid progress during this session.

Col. Henry Watterson in his great lecture on Lincoln, as well as in other public addresses where incidental reference to Lincoln is made, invariably speaks of him as the "great Kentuckian", making no mention whatever of that period in Mr. Lincoln's life spent in the State of Indiana. But as if fortifying himself against the possibility of this assertion being called in question, since the whole of that life save the first seven years was spent outside of Kentucky, he straightway asks: "For what was Springfield, Illinois, but a Kentucky colony?"

In view of the foregoing logic, what would be the claim in behalf of Henry Clay, who was a bearded man from the State of Virginia when taking up his residence in Kentucky? And to use the interrogatory of Colonel Watterson, and apply it to Mr. Clay, we may ask: "For what was Kentucky but a Virginia colony?" Again in the case of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston of New England lineage, that great military captain who came so nearly planting the Stars and Bars on the banks of the Ohio river; does it follow that he was a Puritan when his impressionable years of training were spent among Cavaliers? And yet again, because the last remaining member of the old school of brilliant editors, Col. Watterson himself, honored as he is throughout the nation, and ever regarded as a truly great Kentuckian, because he himself happened to be born elsewhere than in the State of Kentucky, does it in the least lessen the just claim to such distinguished consider-

ation, since he like Mr. Clay is the very embodiment of all of those eminent traits bespeaking a Kentuckian?

When the bill before the United States Senate proposing to appropriate \$2,000,000 for the erection of a Greek memorial temple to the memory of Lincoln was under discussion, Senator Ollie James of Kentucky, in speaking in behalf of the measure and in opposition to the proposed substitute, that of erecting a memorial highway from Washington City to the battlefield of Gettysburg, spoke of Mr. Lincoln as "that great Kentuckian", and suggested that if it was deemed advisable to construct a Lincoln roadway anywhere, it would be more fitting to build one from Lincoln's birthplace in Kentucky to the State of Illinois. The presumption is that in that event this highway would pass through Indiana, although, as usual, no mention was made of that State.

Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft both visited the birthplace of Mr. Lincoln in official capacity, and both of them in addresses on those occasions did not fail to note the fact (and very properly so) that Mr. Lincoln was a Kentuckian by birth, but no mention was made of the fact that when Illinois received him he was a bearded man, and when Kentucky dismissed him he was a mere child, departing with little more than a memory of his native State.

Colonel Roosevelt in particular spoke of Mr. Lincoln as "the great Kentuckian", and associated him with the Kentucky pioneers. Indeed, some of Mr. Lincoln's biographers have repeatedly denominated him as a Kentucky pioneer, whereas his parents were both Virginians; and while he was born in Kentucky, in leaving that State while yet so young it cannot rightly be claimed that he was in any sense a Kentucky pioneer. As Colonel Roosevelt asserts, he was associated with these pioneers, although but very briefly and merely as a child. However, some of his Indiana neighbors were Kentuckians.

A search through numerous addresses delivered on great public occasions, in lectures, periodicals and books reveals the unmistakable fact that but small space has been allotted to those years in the life of the great President spent in Indiana, but much has been said by the many concerning Mr. Lincoln's

birthplace, and a labored effort made to account for his greatness by the mere fact of his having had a Kentucky origin. The reasons for this are perhaps not difficult to ascertain, at least some of them.

Kentucky had the proud distinction of early producing or adopting many great men. Being the gateway to the North through which the emigrant tides poured to the newer States and Territories, she took toll of these, often selecting the best, but not always. Being a slave State and fostering an institution that materially contributed to the creation of a regime generally prevailing over a large portion of the State, although not all, there was in consequence lodged with this favored class all the political power, as well as the intellectual, financial and social prestige. It was this class that was met with and spoken of, and being especially fortunate in her adoption of Henry Clay, the world without readily came to regard Clay, and such as he, as typifying Kentucky as a whole.

Her mountaineers and poor whites did not at that time disturb averages as they now do. They were then content to enjoy their feudal fights. The currents of life swept around them. No John Fox, Jr., was at that period portraying their life and character, but whatever was said in song or story was of the other dominant and ruling class. So true was this that when Stephen Collins Foster from farther north looked in upon this scene he was induced to locate "The Old Kentucky Home" in the Blue Grass region with "darkies gay" and pickaninnies playing on the cabin floor.

Indiana was not so fortunate in some particulars. During the pioneer period of her history, and therefore while Lincoln was a resident of that State, the term "Hoosier" was given to her citizens, a name at that time, and for a considerable period thereafter, conveying the idea of, whatever else it may, inferiority, boorishness in manners, deplorable ignorance and crudity; and thus the name was indicative of that something bespeaking an inhabitant of a State whose community life was believed to be faithfully portrayed by Edward Eggleston in the *Hoosier School Master*. Although Eggleston perhaps never meant that his fictitious portraiture of the

early pioneers was to be taken so seriously, but, fiction though it was, and portraying as it did the life and character of the pioneer type of that day, not only in the State of Indiana but throughout the Middle West as well, no matter of fact history was ever more faithfully and literally received. It is believed that in remote sections of our country there are those today who still hold to the ancient belief, and apply it to the present generation of Hoosiers. Therefore, for one seeking to eulogize a great character, and particularly such a one as Lincoln, deficient as he was in the training of the schools, certainly anything else but polished in the manners and customs peculiar to the older and more settled communities, and above all, one who apparently by nature was so democratic in his tastes and appetencies, there is small wonder that the earlier historians and eulogists (all of whom save one were from without the State) studiously avoided the Hoosier period in Mr. Lincoln's life, save that in tracing his itinerary they bridged these formative years spent among Hoosiers with a few incidents and anecdotes of more or less interest, and briefly noted the beginnings of his career, then passing on to the more active years of his manhood in the State of Illinois.

At this late day when we are so far removed from those things once generally prevalent, when the title "Hoosier" has become quite as honorable as that borne by the citizens of any State in the Union, and more especially when we come to consider the life and services of such a world character as was Mr. Lincoln, some things may be justly asserted concerning the Hoosier period in his life with a reasonable expectation that adequate emphasis be allowed and it in consequence be placed in its proper relation.

Three States, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, had to do in producing, rearing and offering to the world this great character. It is a distinguished honor that the State of Kentucky has in being able to point with pardonable pride to the spot that gave birth to our greatest American. This spot has been highly and very fittingly honored by the expenditure of a vast amount of money in the erection of a suitable memorial building. This has caused Presidents, congressmen, govern-

ors of States, and multitudes of the plain people to make pilgrimages there and thus pay homage to his memory.

The prairie State of Illinois that twice offered Mr. Lincoln as her successful candidate for the presidency, and in whose soil his body now reposes beneath a costly and imposing monument, has just cause for pride. But if Kentucky gave Mr. Lincoln birth, it was as if she deemed that quite sufficient honor and speedily dismissed him at the tender age of seven to be received by the new State of Indiana with a pioneer's welcome. Here amid the heroic frontier hardships he reached his majority, spending fourteen years, or just one-fourth of his entire life on Indiana soil.

In an address to an Indiana regiment of Civil war soldiers President Lincoln said: "I was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, and now live in Illinois." Since it is particularly with these years spent in Indiana with which we have to do, the inquiry is here made: What period in the life of any man is of as much interest or ordinarily calculated to influence and shape the destiny as those years between seven and twenty-one? What happened during those formative years in Mr. Lincoln's life? Was his stay in Indiana a mere chance, one of the accidents in the fortune of a roving, nomadic father, or is there rather discerned a leading of Providence?

It may not be inappropriate here to raise the question, would his career have been what it afterward became had he spent these formative years elsewhere, even in the State of Illinois? Or, reversing the order of history, had he been born in Indiana, spending the first seven years there, removing to the State of Kentucky, remaining there until attaining his majority, and then going to Illinois as he did, would his career have been what it was? It is believed that certain influences would have produced marked changes in him, and so much so as to have prevented Lincoln from becoming the great anti-slavery advocate and leader. Moreover, it cannot be doubted that had he spent all of these fourteen formative years in Kentucky, even though born in Indiana, his greatness would have almost wholly been attributed to a residence and rearing among Kentucky pioneers, and the accident of his birth would have doubtless received somewhat less consideration than it

has. Unquestionably, had Mr. Lincoln been reared elsewhere than in Indiana, particularly in a slave State, the plans and purposes of his life might have been hindered or defeated altogether. In raising such questions we are not wholly in a field purely conjectural.

THE EVERY-DAY LIFE OF LINCOLN

I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, appointed colonel of a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact color of Julius Caesar's hair.

Many people have from time to time expressed a desire to know somewhat more in detail concerning the "every-day life of Lincoln's youth;" something as to his "manners, habits and customs;" whether he "possessed vicious tendencies;" whether he was "given to idleness or not," as has been alleged; whether he was "of a quarrelsome nature," and many other things of this sort, so that some adequate idea might be formed as to just what extent, if any, there was a basis for supposing him at that time making any preparation, however unconsciously, for the unprecedented career that awaited him.

A painstaking effort was made covering this field of inquiry, and it is believed that these repeated interviews with his former associates elicited information which will aid in reaching conclusions as to the influence some things transpiring in his youth had in shaping his destiny.

It should be stated first of all that Lincoln himself was accustomed to assert from his fifteenth year onward, in a sort of half jest, half earnest way, that "he didn't always expect to grub, dig and maul." When asked at such times what he expected to do he invariably replied: "I'll do something and be somebody," and often closed by saying: "I'll be President, I reckon." If Lincoln possessed visions of a future altogether different from the ceaseless round of menial toil, which did not particularly promise to better his condition since he failed to receive remuneration commensurate thereto, his boyhood associates in no single case asserted that they at any time anticipated the great career of Mr. Lincoln. As we now look back upon Mr. Lincoln's career and witness his rise to fame, it ap-

pears so utterly at variance with all that is deemed essential to achieve greatness as to occasion momentary doubts of the truthfulness of history. Had he lived in an earlier age his life story would have speedily passed into romance and fiction.

Contrary to the usual representation, a number of these boyhood friends, while not especially schooled, were quite well informed, and many of them had prospered until they possessed at least passing wealth. No better citizen could be found anywhere than the Gentrys, Larmars, Halls, Forsythes, Brooners, and others. These men asserted that "Lincoln as a boy was jokey and lively, entering into all of their boyish sports heartily." These sports and games consisted of jumping half hammon (now called hop, step and jump), the broad jump, running, slap jack, town ball, stink base, wrestling, I spy, etc.

On one occasion when quite a number of the young folks had gathered at the Lincoln cabin and were engaged in a game of "hide and go seek," Lincoln among them, Granny Hanks came to the door with a Bible in her hands, and calling to young Lincoln, said: "Abe, I want you to come in hyar and read a chapter for me out'n the Bible. I aint hearn it read fur a right smart spell." It should be stated that it is not certain just who this old lady was, but there was a lady called "Granny Hanks" who for a time at least, resided with the Lincolns. These pioneer neighbors of the Lincolns frequently alluded to her in conversation. No mention has ever been made of her by any of Mr. Lincoln's biographers, and it is quite immaterial for our purpose to establish the identity, save that there might arise the charge that this character was purely fictitious. That substantially all of the immediate relatives of Nancy Hanks followed her to Indiana is the statement made by the Hankses themselves, and thus there need be no scruples as to the identity of this particular lady.

We are accustomed to believe that in those days respect on the part of young folks for old age was especially characteristic. At any rate, in this case Lincoln immediately quit the game when so requested and went into the house followed by all the rest of the young folks. The future humorist and wit, who read a chapter from Artemus Ward to members of his

cabinet just before announcing his intention of publishing the Emancipation Proclamation, now gravely seated himself opposite the old lady and presently began thumbing the leaves of the book which had been handed to him in search of a suitable chapter. The young people had crowded into the room, some being seated on the backless bench, some two or three on chairs, and a number were standing about the room. Presently the reader began a chapter, presumably in the Prophecy of Isaiah, but he had not read very far until he began making use of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and such other volumes as he was familiar with, all this time making solemn but ill-concealed sly observations as to just how this rendering was being received by Granny Hanks. After a number of verses (?) had been read the old lady's suspicion became aroused, and finally when the reader ventured to make a rather free translation she suddenly interrupted him by exclaiming: "Abe, I've hearn the Bible read a great many times in my life, but I never yit hearn them things in it afore." Lincoln, perceiving that he was fairly caught, threw off his make-believe solemnity and abandoned himself to guffaws of hearty laughter, at the same time lifting the book high above his head and occasionally striking his knees a resounding whack with the free hand. After indulging himself in this manner for a time and occasioning more or less merriment among the older boys and girls present, his laughter at length subsided and he remarked: "Granny, you caught me that time, didn't you?" He then began deliberately reading again, this time following the text.

The character of Lincoln's humor, and his disposition to make free use of it at the least provocation by associating it, as in this instance, with the more serious things of life, were apparently prominent enough at an early period readily to account for some of the surprises produced in the minds of cabinet officers and others high in authority during the days of his occupancy of the White House.

It is exceedingly difficult for those of this century and age of plenty, accustomed to the numerous conveniences of modern life, to appreciate adequately the social standing, self denial and lack of the many things once regarded as luxuries,

but now considered as necessities and which in many instances are now to be had merely for a trifle. Moreover, the early settlers, particularly in Lincoln's day, had to contend with some things which their descendants are free from altogether. In addition to the afflictions peculiar to the pioneer period, as well as the danger of being exposed to wild animals, there were many annoyances to which the people were subjected. They had the mosquito without the modern conveniences of meeting his attacks; the woods tick, still met with in certain sections; burrs, such as the "stick tights," "Spanish needles," cockle and "beggar's lice;" venomous serpents, such as the deadly rattlers and copper heads—the latter being, if not quite as venomous, certainly more treacherous—chiggers and numerous inconveniences. In addition to the foregoing there were the body and head lice, particularly the latter. It was Lincoln's favorite poet, Burns, who wrote a poem "on seeing a louse on a lady's bonnet." Had the Scotch bard been a resident of this section in the early days, he would have had occasion to witness the "crawlin beastie" again and again, for no term of school ever closed without a siege by this species of vermin.

Wesley Hall stated:

One morning bright and early Abe came to our home, and after being seated and asked by my mother in true neighborly fashion, "how are all the folks?" he replied: "They are all well, Mrs. Hall, but mother thinks the children have got the creepers, and she sent me over here this morning to borry your fine-tooth comb." When this information was imparted, Mrs. Hall threw up her hands and exclaimed: "My Lordy, Abe, d'ye reckon it's a fact?" Whereupon Abraham observed that "he reckoned they had, but not having a comb with teeth close enough together to ketch 'em, he had been dispatched on the hunt of one that would."

The accommodating possessor of this household article brought it forth and knowing that her own children, and Wesley in particular, had been at play with the Lincoln children, she suddenly suggested the possibility of the "creepers" having found lodgment on the heads of the younger members of her own household and desiring to verify her supposition, she put it to the test by proceeding to comb the head of young Wesley and found abundant evidence to justify all of her suspicions. After young Hall had been subjected to this rigid examination,

with Lincoln seated near, occasionally offering humorous remarks, Mrs. Hall made bold to suggest the possibility of the "creepers" being upon Lincoln's head; whereupon he acquiesced to the effect that there was a possibility of this being true. Then Mrs. Hall further pointedly suggested that she be privileged to make examination, and Lincoln getting down on his knees before her and bending his head over, facing a newspaper spread out on the floor, it was not long before all concerned were satisfied that the investigation was timely.

Lincoln was given to indulging himself in the sport of fishing, coon and opossum hunting at nights, but found sport distasteful if he had to stalk a deer cautiously, approach a flock of turkeys or sit quietly on the bank of a stream without a companion. Such distaste grew out of the fact that it divorced him from his companions or necessitated refraining from conversation. His enjoyment of the night-hunting was attributed to the fact that on such expeditions there was small need of refraining from hilarious conversation, and since it placed him in company of a goodly number of men and boys he engaged in this particular diversion quite frequently. His overmastering desire to be found in the company of others—the more, the better—led him to attend all social functions of the neighborhood such as weddings, corn-huskings, log-rollings and raisings. In fact, he could usually be found mingling with the crowd no matter what had called it together. His presence, therefore, on some of these occasions, was not due to any especial interest in the things done, but because he loved the fellowship of men. He frequented all horse races held in the settlement, and if a fight between two "bullies" was scheduled, he was invariably present. These horse races, of course, were nothing more than a test of speed of "brag horses" in that and adjoining neighborhoods, the owners having usually placed a bet and challenged one another to a test. They partook somewhat of the nature of Indian pony races rather than regular race track meets. The race was run on a straight-away, often a public road. Such gatherings afforded opportunity also to ascertain who was the champion "wrestler" and the best broad or half-hammon jumper. Foot races were indulged in; "town ball," "stink base," and "chicken" were played not only before

and after the races, but on many other occasions where crowds were gathered. Horseshoe pitching, throwing a heavy maul as a shot put, lifting a dead weight—usually a boulder or log—and many other such things tested physical endurance and prowess. In all feats of strength Lincoln excelled, such as throwing the maul and wrestling. Being exceedingly awkward, his movements, while surprisingly quick, were ludicrous and provoked more or less merriment. Fistic encounters were quite common, but resort to the use of a weapon such as a knife or gun was exceedingly rare. Men bearing any grudge against each other, or taking umbrage at any fancied slight or insult, would say: "I'll meet you Saturday at town and I'll settle with you there." Hence Saturday afternoon fights were numerous. Usually the fight was fair, that is, "no gouging or biting" was permitted and no interference on the part of the bystanders was suffered on penalty of a personal chastisement by a "backer." If the under man "hollered enough," that was usually satisfactory to both the victor and onlookers, but if in the heat of passion other punishment was still meted out, there was no lack of friends and sympathizers for the "under dog" in the fight, who speedily came to his rescue. Lincoln was much given to wrestling, but seldom fought. He was not averse to this, but his well-known strength for a youth—a minor—prevented difficulties with men; and since he reached his gigantic stature of six feet, four inches, when sixteen years of age, and possessing great strength, he was "too big to fight a boy and too young to fight a man." It should not be inferred by any of these remarks that Lincoln was quarrelsome or usually disposed to "pick a quarrel." Indeed, the very opposite was true of him, but in the phraseology of the day, "he allus toted his own skillet." When provoked and jeered at by the uninitiated because of his awkward appearance, he received the banterings at first quite good naturedly, and his tormentors were easily led into the belief that he was a coward. When forbearance ceased to be a virtue, Lincoln stood up for his honor and invariably "thrashed" his assailant.

Rothchild in *Master of Men*, in speaking of Lincoln during this period, said: "He was the shyest, most reticent, most uncouth and awkward appearing, homeliest and worst dressed of

any in the entire crowd." This characterization in some particulars is not in accordance with the facts as detailed by many of Lincoln's early friends. Young Lincoln was not shy of anything or any one, save that he manifested more or less uneasiness in the presence of ladies. This was certainly true of him while reading law at New Salem, Illinois, when it is related that he changed his boarding place because a number of strange ladies came there to take their meals. When called upon in Washington City to make an address before ladies, he stated that "he was not accustomed to the eulogy of women." Lincoln was not reticent at any time in life, and no more during his youth than at a later period, but if by reticence it is aimed to show that he could keep his own counsel and otherwise prevent encroachment upon his reserve, then no youth nor adult was any more reticent than he. But as a youth "he was a talker," and an incessant one, although he was a good listener. He was not dictatorial or inclined to monopolize conversation, but so incessant a talker was he that he was charged, and doubtless justly so, by his associates as being "vain about hearing his own voice." However, it should be said that this allegation was made, having in view his habit of "preaching" or "stump speaking."

Major John Hay, his private secretary, asserted that Lincoln's intellectual arrogance and unconscious assumption of superiority was the one thing that such men as Senator Sumner and Governor Chase could never forgive. Secretary Seward, that astute politician and sage of Auburn, after three months of the untried Lincoln in the White House, wrote his wife that "the President is more than a match for us all."

When Mrs. Lincoln early in the administration said to her husband that certain politicians were asserting that Secretary Seward would "run things," Lincoln calmly remarked:

I may not rule myself, but certainly Seward shall not. The only ruler I have is my conscience, following God in it, and these men will have to learn that yet.

Lincoln had a becoming respect for age—provided age set the example. A lady whom Lincoln had occasionally called on and accompanied to social gatherings, said:

One evenin' Abe and me wus standin' out in the yard at our house a talkin', and we heard a clatter of horses' hoofs comin' up the road that run past the house, and purty soon we seen who it was. It was a neighbor that wus always braggin' about his horses, a claimin' he had the fastest horse in all the country 'round, and he had a proud way of ridin' just to show off. So as I say, up he come, like as if he wus going after a doctor, and when he got opposite to us he stopped and begun as usual to brag about his horse, sayin' among other things that he could ride him in a lope all the way to Boonville and he'd never even draw a long breath, and a whole lot more things like that. Abe stood there and 'peared to listen to him like if 'twas the first time he'd ever heard him tell them things, and then when he finally got through Abe up and says: "I've heard you say that time and agin. In fact your always a braggin' on what you've got and what you c'n do or a goin' to do. Now suppose jest for once in your life you quit your braggin' and blowin' around and really do something. Strike out for Boonville, and when you git there, take a right good look and see if your brag horse aint fetchin' some mighty short breaths."

As to Lincoln's being "the worst dressed youth in the crowd," that is an overdrawn statement, for they were all dressed about as nearly alike as coon skin caps, hunting shirts or a blouse and buckskin breeches could make them. If there was any difference, it would be in Lincoln's favor on the score of cleanliness, for his mother frequently commented upon the fact of his being so careful with his clothing, and certainly no better evidence could be desired in such a matter than that of a mother. If the assertion that he was the worst dressed one in the crowd should be from the tailor's point of view, then there need be no difference of opinion concerning it. He appears to have always had more or less difficulty in obtaining garments large enough. His trousers were usually from five to twelve inches too short, and since he almost invariably wore moccasins or low topped shoes, there was an unprotected area between the ankle and the knee that was quite large. Lincoln himself, in speaking of this when accused of being associated with the well-to-do and prosperous, said that this part of his anatomy "had been exposed to the elements for so long that his shin bone was permanently blue"; and he submitted that "there was nothing about the circumstance indicating aristocracy."

As has been clearly indicated, Lincoln was often selected by the uninitiated as a target for sport, and his good nature was frequently regarded as an indication of cowardice. On one

occasion he was attacked as he stood near a tree, by a larger boy with a crowd of others at his back. It was supposed, of course, that the big awkward boy would run when the charge was made, but not so. Instead, Lincoln quickly laid out the first, second and third boy in rapid succession, and then placing his back against a tree, he turned tormentor, daring the remainder to make any further demonstration, and when they elected not to do so he taunted them for being cowards.

There was at least one instance when Lincoln yielded to the temptation to deviate from his accustomed fairness, yet it would appear that there was some extenuation in the matter. Colonel Lamon, in his biography of Lincoln, relates what purports to be the correct version of this circumstance, but that there are some statements in it wholly incompatible with the general deportment of Lincoln, as well as in the subject matter itself, is the assertion of a number of eye witnesses of the affair. Wesley Hall, James Gentry, Redmond Grigsby and Joseph Gentry were all living at the time that this incident was investigated by the writer. They were all present when the incident took place and were much given to relating this circumstance and for some cause reverted to it more frequently than any other that came under their observation during the early life of Lincoln.

A crowd of boys and young men had gathered, for no particular purpose, when Lincoln and William Grigsby, after a time, got into a dispute over the ownership of a certain spotted pup. Each alleged that a neighbor had promised to make him a present of this particular pup. The dispute finally assumed the proportions of a quarrel. Grigsby stepped squarely in front of Lincoln and angrily dared him to fight. Whereupon Lincoln said: "Bill, you know I can lick you, so what's the use of you making such a proposition?" Grigsby, whom it was generally asserted feared no man and was a great fighter, replied: "I know you c'n whip me, but I'll fight you for the dog jest the same." Finally Lincoln said: "I'll tell you what I'll do, Bill. Although I know that pup belongs to me, and you know it too, I'm willing to put up John Johnson here in my place. He's more your size, and whichever whips gets the pup." This was readily agreed to by Grigsby, and "hauling their coats off as

the boys formed a circle, they began the fight." They had not fought long until it became evident to all, and to Lincoln in particular, that Grigsby was having the best of the argument. Suddenly, without any warning, Lincoln stepped into the ring, seized Grigsby by the collar and trousers and bodily hurled him over the heads of the crowd. He then "dared the entire Grigsby crowd to come into him." There being no disposition to do so, Lincoln's anger subsided quickly and presently he was laughing and joking.

Hall and the Gentry brothers asserted that "Abe always acted fair," and they couldn't understand at first why he should interfere as he did in this instance, until it was ascertained subsequently that the pup had in fact been given to Lincoln, and Grigsby knowing this, had conceived this plan of obtaining it. Both of the Gentrys and Hall stated that this altercation took place on the exact site of the railroad depot at Lincoln City, which stands one hundred and fifty yards west of the Lincoln cabin site.

The assertion of Mr. Lamon in this instance, as well as in others, that "Lincoln drew forth a whiskey bottle and waived it dramatically above his head" on the defeat of Grigsby, or that he "was accustomed to take his dram," and such other similar statements, is not at all in accordance with any of the testimony given by Lincoln's early friends. They expressly stated that no such thing transpired during this fight as Lincoln exhibiting a bottle of whiskey, but they were unanimous in stating that Lincoln never at any time so much as tasted intoxicating liquor of any sort, nor did he use tobacco, either in chewing or smoking.

It was this same William Grigsby who later became such a warm friend of Lincoln that he offered during the Civil War to whip any man in Gentryville who was disposed to speak disparagingly of his old friend, "Abe Linkern." Amos Grigsby, brother of William, a short while after the fight, married Sarah Lincoln, sister of Abraham. At this time she was eighteen years of age and her brother was sixteen. While they were very much attached to one another, the Grigsbys did not like young Lincoln by reason of the affair with William, and the wedding was arranged to take place in the two-story log house

of the groom's father. In fact, there was to be a double wedding since one of the Grigsby girls was to be married at the same time. Young Lincoln was not privileged to be present and witness the marriage of his only sister in consequence of the trouble aforementioned. Lincoln meditated revenge for this slight in a manner quite unusual indeed and unheard of in this section. It was as follows:

Lincoln quietly sought an interview with a young man who he knew was an invited guest at the double wedding and requested that he do him a favor. "Certainly, Abe, I'll do anything for you. What is it?" "Well, you know I'm not to be at that wedding. It seems they don't care to have me around for some reason or other, and I've picked on you to look things over and somehow manage to do the honors of conducting the grooms to the bridal chamber." Careful and detailed instruction was given as to diplomatic procedure so that suspicions might not be aroused on the part of any. It appeared that these were carried out to the letter and worked admirably. When, according to the pioneer custom, the grooms were escorted up the perpendicular sassafras ladder in one corner of the room, which led up through a "scuttle hole" in the ceiling to the now darkened bridal chamber on the second floor, there resulted more or less confusion for a time in ascertaining identity just as Lincoln had planned.

Lincoln, considering this a clever practical joke, wrote an account of the affair in verse, calling the poem "The Chronicles." These verses as recited by Lincoln on the least provocation to all who would give him audience, gave the Grigsbys great offense. When Lincoln ascertained that they were aggrieved, he went to the Grigsby home and disclaimed having any purpose whatever of casting any aspersion upon their character or good name, stating that he only purposed having some fun. He closed by turning over to them the original manuscript containing the objectionable Chronicles, accompanying this action with the promise that so far as he was concerned nothing more would be said concerning them, a promise that he faithfully kept. This generosity of character so appealed to the offended Grigsbys that they all became his friends.

As a sequel to this incident, it may be stated that James

Gentry, when some reference was made by the writer to the "Chronicles of Reuben," laughed uproariously, and straightway began reciting certain portions of "Abe's poetry" in great glee. Gentry stated that "when Abe wrote his Chronicles they kicked up a big hulla-ba-loo, but finally it all got quiet when Abe handed them over to the Grigsbys."

Redmond Grigsby was yet living at the time of the interview with Gentry, and in the course of Mr. Gentry's remarks he incidentally mentioned the fact that only the day before this he had met Grigsby and "they fell to talking about this double wedding and the Chronicles in particular." Gentry remarked to Grigsby: "Red, everybody's dead now but you, by gum! I'd let 'em come out." (Meaning the publication of the Chronicles.) But Mr. Grigsby said: "Jim, there's plenty time fer that yet." It would appear from this remark that the original document was in the possession of Redmond Grigsby, a brother of Aaron. Mr. Grigsby died a short while after this, and what became of the Chronicles, if he did in fact have them in his possession, is not known.

LINCOLN'S HONESTY AND TRUTHFULNESS

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on in the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

All of the discussions of Lincoln's life make pointed reference to his uncompromising honesty and truthfulness. So prominent were these traits in his character as to induce his friends to denominate him "Honest Abe" while he was quite young.

Unfortunately, most of the emphasis has been so placed as to leave the impression upon the minds of our youth that Lincoln learned honesty some time after reaching maturity; leaving the implication that either this trait was not noticed during his youth; or, if so, no reliable and trustworthy evidence of it was obtained, justifying specific mention of it at any length. This attitude is not only unjustifiable, judging by the facts and

evidence testified to by his boyhood associates, but it is quite at variance with all the generally accepted standards and theories of life governing such matters.

It is, of course, not charged that dishonesty characterized Mr. Lincoln's youth save in the single accusation made by some of the earlier biographers against him in recounting the advice given his flatboat partner, Allen Gentry, to pass counterfeit money for genuine money. When all the circumstances connected with this transaction are known, the inference and implication of doubtful honesty proves to be groundless.

In the days when Lincoln and Gentry made their celebrated flatboat trip down the Mississippi river "wildcat" money was quite as common as any other, particularly along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Wildcat money was so frequently offered in payment in the smaller transactions at that time that it occasioned no more comment or concern than the depreciated "trade dollar," Canadian quarter or dime did later in this section. Thus, when Lincoln advised the passing of wildcat money received in the course of their bartering during the day, he was but following the custom practiced by the people of that time.

There never was any occasion for a revolution in Mr. Lincoln's character or a deviation in any particular from his youthful customs, as he did not at any time practice deception or dishonesty. It may be said that whatever he may have learned or acquired in the State of Illinois, certainly honesty was not learned there. If his associates in that State, noting his steadfast adherence to the old-fashioned trait of honesty, denominated him "Honest Abe," it is but an indication that his early training in the Indiana wilderness was so rooted and grounded in him that he could not only withstand the social, business and political temptations of life in Illinois as to challenge their admiration; but the inference is that he was much unlike most, if not all, other men in public life at that time.

Most men of mature years draw heavily upon the teachings of childhood and youth. To put it in a way calculated to meet with general acceptance, what a man becomes in morals and in the practice of the great principles of honesty and truthfulness is largely determined in childhood and young manhood. Never were these teachings better exemplified than in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

When Lincoln, a bearded man, walked down Sangamon river bottom, Illinois, for the first time, his character was already formed. He brought with him from Indiana his rare wit, humor and inexhaustible fund of anecdotes. He possessed no bad habits. His school days were over. It is true that he took a post-graduate course in Shakespeare and Burns, and when John Calhoun, of Lecompton fame, offered him the position as assistant surveyor, this graduate of the Indiana wilderness, fresh from his reading of the classics—the King James version of the Bible, Aesop's *Fables*, Lives of Franklin and Washington—reported to Calhoun in just six weeks for duty, having mastered this science in that incredibly short time, to the astonishment of his benefactor.

One of Lincoln's teachers in Indiana was a man by the name of Crawford. Lincoln was in his fourteenth year while in attendance upon this particular term. On one occasion the teacher observed that some liberties had been taken with the pair of antlers over the door of the school room, one prong having been broken, and on making this discovery he straightway instituted an inquiry to find the guilty culprit. Lincoln, being quite tall and seeing this prong presenting a temptation to swing upon it, yielded, with the result that the prong failed to support his weight and fell to the ground. When the irate teacher asked who was guilty, Lincoln stepped forth and quickly volunteered the information :

I did, sir. I did not mean to do it, but I hung 'on it and it broke. I wouldn't have done it if I'd a thought it'd a broke.

It is not at all necessary to suppose in attempting to show the honesty and truthfulness of Lincoln that there were no others in the school at that time who would have done as he did under similar circumstances. Indeed, in every little school-house of the land today there are those who would do this, but since this circumstance did transpire as here related it is important in that it sets forth the inherent trait at such a period in his life.

One of the neighbors of the Lincolns was Josiah Crawford, for whom young Abraham often worked as a "hired man" and his sister Sarah worked as "hired girl." "Old Cy Crawford,"

as he was usually called, was more or less given to certain peculiarities, being quite presumptuous and so penurious as to be called "tight" or "close" by his neighbors, but withal possessing many splendid traits. He was not an educated man, but being what was called "handy," he was able to do almost anything. He was a pioneer doctor and dentist, and in addition he was a farmer. In this latter capacity he frequently employed young Lincoln.

Crawford possessed a small library which, to some extent, accounted for whatever superiority he had over some of his neighbors. Lincoln borrowed all of these books, reading and re-reading some of them, one being Weem's *Life of Washington*. It was the custom of Lincoln to carry a book with him in the fields or in the "clearing," and this practice was not dispensed with even when laboring for a neighbor. At every opportunity, whether at the noon hour or rest, or permitting a "horse to breathe," he brought forth the book to read.

John Hanks, who lived with the Lincolns from 1823 to 1827, said, as recounted by Mr. Herndon:

When Abe and I returned to the house from work he would go to the cupboard, snatch a piece of cornbread and sit down and read. We grubbed, plowed, mowed and worked together barefooted in the fields. Whenever Abe had a chance in the field while at work, or at the house, he would stop and read. He kept the Bible and Aesop's *Fables* always in reach and read them over and over again.

He kept up his daily custom of carrying a book with him and reading as he walked, as well as reading until a late hour at night, until established in the practice of his profession. During his boyhood on securing a new book he frequently read until midnight. His artificial light for this purpose was made by gathering dry sticks and splinters and piling them beside the jambs so that when the fire died down he freely laid some of this tinder on the forestic and thus managed to read quite well. One night after having obtained the aforementioned copy of the *Life of Washington* from Crawford he read until quite late, and on retiring to the loft he laid the book between two of the logs—the "chinkin and daubin had worn away." While he was wrapped in sleep a rain storm came and greatly damaged the leaves and warped the cover. On making this dis-

covery the following morning Lincoln was mortified, and realizing the scarcity of books and keenly appreciating their value, he very naturally supposed that Mr. Crawford would be "put out" about it. Nevertheless, he took the damaged treasure home and related somewhat in detail the circumstances of the night before, proposing to do whatever the owner thought was right and proper to make amends for his carelessness. Mr. Crawford was not averse to driving a bargain, for it was his custom with Lincoln "to dock him" when he failed to begin his day's labor early enough or for any cause lost any time. In this instance he proposed that Lincoln "pull fodder for three days and they would call matters even." Lincoln entered no protest at the time and energetically went to work. In relating this circumstance to a gentleman in Rockport afterward, he stated:

At the close of the second day my long arms had stripped every blade off old Blue Nose's corn, and I reckon Cy ought to be satisfied; at any rate I am, but I think he was pretty hard on me.

We are indebted to Silas G. Pratt for an incident illustrative of Lincoln's mingled goodness, truthfulness and honesty:

One morning when Lincoln, with his ax over his shoulder, was going to work in the clearing, his step sister, Matilda Johnson, who had been forbidden by her mother to follow him, slyly and unknown to her mother crept out of the house and ran after him. Lincoln was already a long distance from the house among the trees following a deer path and whistling as he walked along. He, of course, did not know the girl was coming after him, and Matilda ran so softly that she made no noise to attract his attention. When she came up close behind, she made a quick spring and jumped upon his shoulders, holding on with both hands and pressing her knees into his back, thus pulling him quickly to the ground. In falling the sharp ax fell and cut her ankle very badly. As the blood ran out the mischievous Matilda screamed with pain. Lincoln at once tore off some cloth from the lining of his coat to stop the blood from flowing, and bound up the wound as well as he could. Taking a long breath he said: "Tilda, I am astonished. How could you disobey your mother so?" Tilda only cried in reply, and Lincoln continued: "What are you going to tell mother about getting hurt?" "Tell her I did it with the ax," she sobbed. "That will be the truth, won't it?" To which Lincoln replied manfully: "Yes, that's the truth; but it's not all the truth. You tell the whole truth, Tilda, and trust your good mother for the rest." So Tilda went limping home and told her mother all the truth. The good woman felt so sorry for her that she did not even scold her.

If, in speaking of honesty, we may make the term so broad as to include not only right dealings in mere money or business transactions, but fair-mindedness and an implied purpose and intentional disposition to be such under trying circumstances, there is much that may be said illustrative of the fact that Lincoln's life was the embodiment of truth and fair-dealing. The boyhood associates of Lincoln stated that his word was always considered good and that he could be depended upon to do what he agreed to do. He was generally trusted by his neighbors, and if necessity seemed to justify his asking credit, as was sometimes the case, this was granted.

It was pretty generally conceded, however, by the old neighbors of Lincoln and others who had personal acquaintance with members of the family concerned in one transaction, that there was one noted exception to the rule. The town of Gentryville was laid out by Mr. Gentry in the year 1824. Gentry was a North Carolinian who settled in this section in the year 1818, some two years after the coming of the Lincolns. He was a man of some means for that day, as evidenced in his entering twelve hundred acres of land and founding the town. He established a store, encouraged the purchasing of lots and the erection of houses, and offered certain inducements to artisans and trade-folks so that in a short while the little place became somewhat of a commercial center. Among those who had established themselves in business there was a certain Mr. Jones. On his proving to be prosperous and otherwise possessing advantages over Gentry, overtures were made to him and he accordingly disposed of his business to Gentry. In a short while thereafter he embarked in business again, locating this time a little distance from Gentryville, but near enough to cause the trade to follow him. On perceiving that the future of the town site was in jeopardy, Gentry proposed to Jones to move again to Gentryville. This he did, and it was his store that Lincoln frequented on Saturdays, rainy days and in the evenings. Jones was a man of large influence, politically and otherwise. He early professed a great liking for young Lincoln and freely prophesied on more than one occasion that Lincoln would yet be heard from in the world. He was thought to be rather extravagant in some of his assertions and prophesies, however,

and there is little wonder that the citizens should so think when they heard him venture to assert repeatedly that "Lincoln would some day be President of the United States." Jones was a man somewhat after the type of Denton Offut, the storekeeper with whom Lincoln was associated a few years later in Illinois. In fact, it appears that Lincoln's habit of frequenting these small stores invariably impressed himself so strongly upon the owners as to cause them to employ him. Lincoln drove a team for Jones, packed and unpacked boxes of goods, butchered and salted pork and at certain times performed some of the more menial services in the store proper such as the transfer of heavy and cumbersome wares from the cellar to the main floor. These labors, however, were not continuous, but merely occasional for a nominal sum as a wage—thirty cents per day being the usual price. Jones was regarded as somewhat of a politician, and was a pronounced Jackson Democrat. At one time he was the only subscriber to the *Louisville Journal* in this place, and Lincoln availed himself of the privilege of reading it aloud—a habit which became fixed in him as in many another who was brought up in what was termed "blab schools," where every scholar studied his lesson by reading aloud during "books."

In later life Lincoln's practice was to read aloud, and he had difficulty in grasping the meaning of the printed page unless his ears heard as well as his eyes saw.

The fact that young Lincoln became a "Jackson man" was largely due to the association and influence of storekeeper Jones, and it was from this man that he obtained the *History of the United States*, one of the few books that had so much to do in shaping his career. Just before the Lincolns left for Illinois and a short while prior to Lincoln's reaching his majority, he was in the store observing an extraordinarily large pair of shoes. They were so large as to cause him to think that they would "fit him," and being greatly in need of footwear he asked the privilege of trying them on. This, of course, was granted, and Lincoln found that they were just his size. He thereupon indicated his desire to purchase them, but stated that he did not have the money then and would not have it until a date which he specified. The storekeeper shook his head and refused the young man the desired credit.

Years went by and Lincoln was to be inaugurated President. Very naturally some of his Gentryville friends were desirous of witnessing these ceremonies, and a little party of five made the journey to Washington, among them being Jones, the storekeeper. No opportunity readily presenting itself to meet their old friend until after the inaugural ceremonies were over, they resolved to get in line and meet him at the general reception tendered. This suggestion was acted upon, and by a mere chance, not at all by design, the storekeeper Jones came last. As the first man of the little group approached, Lincoln, straightway recognizing him, greeted him with a beaming countenance, grasping the proffered hand in both of his and saying: "Howdy, Jim." He readily recognized each one as they approached, giving them a very cordial greeting, but when Jones approached he was greeted with silence, although Lincoln shook hands with him. The storekeeper going on the supposition that he was not recognized, exclaimed: "Mr. President, I'm from Gentryville also. My name is Jones. I reckon you don't remember me." Whereupon Lincoln inclined his body forward until his face was on the same level with the face of Jones, and whispered in the ear of his old friend: "O yes, Mr. Jones, I remember you very well, and I remember that shoe transaction also," smiling and otherwise giving him evidence of his old-time friendship. It is but just to say that a portion of this story was denied by Jones who said that he never refused Lincoln the shoes, but that they were turned over to him when Lincoln asked for credit. The supposition is that, on seeing his old friend approaching him, Lincoln hit upon this plan to have a bit of his old-time sport even if the occasion was an inaugural reception. The story, however, as here recorded, received general credence by the old friends of Lincoln, and that it took place substantially as here detailed is doubtless true.

"Nat" Grigsby and the storekeeper Jones later on during the Lincoln administration called on the President at the White House. We have the best authority for stating the fact, the occasion and the ludicrous results of that visit—the testimony of both Grigsby and Jones themselves. "Nat" Grigsby and "Blue Nose" Crawford had been caricatured by Lincoln in some

of his doggerel poetry called the "Chronicles of Reuben." Grigsby, long afterward, confessed that at the time this occasioned considerable feeling on his part against Abe, but after a time all was forgotten. That this was true and that Mr. Lincoln thought quite well of Grigsby is evidenced by a circumstance that transpired on the occasion of Lincoln's visit to Gentryville during the campaign of 1844. Lincoln made speeches both at Gentryville and at Carter's schoolhouse. It was at the latter place that Lincoln, in the midst of his address, recognizing Mr. Grigsby who came in late, exclaimed: "There's Nat." Whereupon he quit the speech and platform and went back to greet his old friend with the old-time warmth and boyish enthusiasm, then returned to the front to continue his speech. Whether it was this circumstance, or the numerous other evidences of Lincoln's partiality for him that induced him to believe Lincoln, as President, could and would appoint him to some federal position, it is immaterial for our purpose. At any rate, Grigsby was fully persuaded that he was amply competent to serve in some capacity (and he was a man of some ability). He very naturally presumed upon the old-time friendship of Lincoln, and accordingly called upon Jones and proposed that he accompany him to Washington on a similar mission in his own behalf. This met with hearty approval on the part of Jones, and preparations were made for the journey. They resolved to see the President in person rather than to make formal application for a place in some other way. At length the two old neighbors of the President appeared at the White House. Lincoln, being apprised of their presence, although many were in waiting, stepped into the room in which they were seated and greeted them quite as if he had met them at Carter's schoolhouse or Baldwin's blacksmith shop in Gentryville. Unmindful of who might chance to be in the room or what might be the construction placed upon his democratic demeanor, he said: "Howdy, Nat," and "Howdy, Bill," and otherwise by word and greeting conducted himself much as if he were oblivious of the fact that he was President of the United States.

Lincoln was never justly, at any time, accused of being hypocritical, but that he could act the part well calculated to

carry out his purpose is much in evidence in this as in other instances. Major John Hay asserted that Lincoln "was a trimmer the equal of Halifax, but he never trimmed his principles." There is discerned in this little circumstance with his boyhood associates an ability to manage men and deal with difficult situations in a way quite characteristic of him. After the warm greeting and hand-shaking with his old friends, accompanied by such familiarities as "the laying on of hands," and other evidences of appreciation of their visit, he requested that they both accompany him to an adjoining room. Going on the supposition that they were being taken to his private office where they could have the opportunity of presenting their claims, they quickly followed him, and were ushered into a large room where Mrs. Lincoln sat. Neither of them having ever met Mrs. Lincoln, they were accordingly introduced by the President, and at the same time dismissed or disposed of as follows: "Mrs. Lincoln, here are two of my boyhood friends from Gentryville, Indiana, Mr. Grigsby and Mr. Jones." Whether just at this point there was a sly wink, or some other signal known only to the secret code of the President's family, is, of course, purely in the realm of conjecture, but the preponderance of evidence is much in its favor, for he straightway said after the formal introduction:

Mary, you know I'm pestered and bothered continually by people coming here on the score of old acquaintance, as almost all of them have an ax to grind. They go on the theory that I've got offices to dispense with so numerous that I can give each one of them a place. Now here are two friends that have come to pay me a visit just because they are my friends, and haven't come to ask for any office or place. It is a relief to have this experience. You know the room's full of folks out here (pointing) waiting to see me about something or other, and I want you to see that "Nat" and "Bill" here have a good time while they are with us."

After the first Lady of the Land had given her promise to do as requested, Lincoln returned to his labors. It is not possible to know whether the President went to his private office and sought relief by giving way to unrestrained laughter or not, but he doubtless consoled himself with the fact that if in the field of diplomacy matters of great moment could always be disposed of as readily as was true in this particular instance,

he had reason to regard himself equal to any exigency that might arise. The two office-seekers, accustomed only to the dames and damsels of Gentryville, gowned in linsey-wolsey, and whose colloquial speech was quite their own, were suddenly found in the presence of a "fine lady," and there is no occasion for surprise when they asserted that both of them heartily agreed that discretion was the better part of valor and they accordingly beat a hasty retreat, returning to Indiana without so much as mentioning the real object of their visit to the Capital. When twitted about their failure by some of their neighbors, they both confessed that "Abe was too much for them," and especially after he had said what he did to Mrs. Lincoln about his old friends asking for office.

LINCOLN'S FREEDOM FROM BAD HABITS

In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; and when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on earth, how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and cradle of both those revolutions that have ended in victory.

Lincoln as a youth was remarkably free from bad or vicious habits. He was in general good favor with all of his associates and was dutiful and obedient to his father and mother. His temperamental makeup was such as to win friends and to hold them. He, as has already been indicated, never at any time in his boyhood, used intoxicating liquors, although this custom was generally prevalent. Since Lincoln's habit was to frequent the grocery store in Gentryville in company with Dennis Hanks, where much drinking was indulged in, his refusal to drink intoxicants is somewhat remarkable. He professed to have a distaste for intoxicants of all sorts, and also abstained as a matter of principle. In later life he stated that "he had no desire for intoxicating liquors and did not care to associate with drinking men." His terrible arraignment of the liquor traffic before the Washingtonian society is familiar to all, and it is highly probable that his strong convictions expressed in later years on that subject were to some extent formed by noting, as he did while a resident at Gentryville, the evil effects of its use by many of his associates.

Wesley Hall stated that his father frequently employed both the elder Lincoln and his son Abraham to labor for him as carpenters as well as to perform work incident to the successful operation of a tanyard. Hall asserted that young Lincoln frequently pushed the plane at a workbench preparing planks for the father's use in the construction of cupboards and other pieces of household furniture. In this connection Hall laughingly recalled a boyish act of his. On one occasion when Abraham was laboring at the bench with the plane, Hall crawled beneath the long bench and lay down upon his back just opposite Lincoln's feet. He was peculiarly struck with the great length of the young carpenter's shoes, and reaching forth he selected a wooden ribbon and was busily engaged in measuring the foot when Lincoln noticed this performance and "yanked him out."

In the performance of the work connected with the tannery the elder Hall frequently employed a number of men, and it was the custom, when weather permitted, to take the noon meal in the grove near the tanyard rather than to go to the house. Hall stated that when the food had been made ready and spread out on a rude table, and dinner was announced, Abe invariably walked to a certain large forest tree whose roots had grown in such a manner as to form a sort of rustic bench. There seating himself, leaning back against the trunk, he drew forth from the folds of his loose fitting waumus or blouse a book and began to read, rather than go to the table as the other men did to eat. When asked if Lincoln did not also eat the noon meal, and why he did not do so with the others, he replied :

Certainly Abe et dinner, but don't you know he never drank, and them times the black bottle would be passed around purty often, so Abe would say to me "You see, Wesley, I don't drink and the rest of the men do, and if I was to eat when they do and not drink with them, they'd think may be I was smart, and so I jest hit upon this plan of bringing along my book with me and reading while they eat. I eat after they get through—in plenty time to go to work when they do, and that a way I git to read some and at the same time I don't go against a custom that they think is all right even if I don't.

A diligent inquiry among Lincoln's boyhood friends for everything characteristic or peculiar to him elicited the fact among other things that he did not indulge in intemperate

language. It might be alleged that there was an exception in the frequent use of the by-word "I jings," which seems to have followed him by way of Illinois to the White House.

That young Lincoln was extremely awkward and homely to a marked degree is evidenced by the testimony of all of his early friends. Being seated his stature did not impress itself, but a close observer would note that his lower extremities were of such proportions that a marble or ball placed upon his knee would roll toward the body. His gait was exceptional and peculiar to him. He made rather long strides as compared to many tall men who, in attempting to keep step, form the habit of a jerky, premature stride. Lincoln lifted his feet squarely from the ground and in like manner planted them, so that the foot did not bend at the toes or the weight of the body rest momentarily upon the heel; however, he was slightly pigeon-toed. His walk therefore, while not to say cunning, was stealthy, and possessing great bodily vigor he could walk long distances in a short while.

Mrs. Polly Agnew, whose maiden name was Richardson, and who was the mother of a number of children, some of whom became men of considerable local prominence—among whom was Doctor Mason, a physician well-known in his day throughout southern Indiana—often related a circumstance that took place on her arrival in Indiana, in which Lincoln bore a conspicuous part, and which furnishes a splendid field for a painter. The Richardsons were pioneers in Spencer county, floating down the Ohio river in a boat and landing at the site of the present beautiful town of Grandview. Their arrival was sometime after the coming of the Lincolns. The landing had been effected, and they desired to penetrate the interior some distance before locating. They had their ox-teams and wagon (save for the wheels), so the father and son felled a large gum tree, and sawing off blocks or circular slabs of such thickness as would prove suitable for wheels, they soon were ready to begin their journey through the unknown wilderness. No white man had as yet made settlement in this part of the country. The wagon was loaded with bedding, cooking utensils and such other things as they would at first need, and with the mother and daughter, Polly, the narrator of the inci-

dent, they started on their tedious way, leaving behind them many things in the boat for which they had to make a second trip. The choice of a farm location was by midday decided upon. In the midst of the great forest they came upon a cluster of trees so situated as to enable them by cutting brush and laying these on poles placed in forks to erect a brush lean-to or brush house, which would serve them temporarily. The mother and daughter were left in the midst of the great forest alone while the men returned to the boat for another load. A storm came up, nightfall was approaching, and the wagon had not returned. In the midst of their anxiety there suddenly appeared out of the forest a stranger of gigantic stature, dressed in coon-skin cap, hunting shirt and buckskin breeches, and bearing a gun. He came up smiling and, by way of explanation for his presence, stated that he lived a short distance north, and having just learned that a new family was moving into the community he had come down to render any service needed. When informed by Mrs. Richardson that the men folks had gone to the river for another load and were expected to return at any time, the stranger remarked: "Well, ladies, I'm quite sure they cannot get back tonight for the rain has interfered, and so I'll just stay with you and see that no harm comes to you during the night."

This information and proffered help was anything but reassuring to the frightened ladies. The tall stranger, acting upon his own suggestion, now stepped to a large tree fronting the lean-to, and seating himself with the gun placed across his lap, leaned against the trunk, thus evidencing his disposition to remain on guard. Seeing this, Mrs. Richardson stepped into the brush house and she and the daughter held a whispered consultation. It was agreed that while the stranger might prove to be more dangerous than any foe of the woods, yet the mother suggested that "he had a good face." After a few moments in conversation they observed that the stranger had laid down his gun and began dragging a large limb toward the brush house. The mother and daughter both ventured out near him and requested to know what he meant by such procedure. Whereupon he smiled and said: "Ladies, the woods around here are full of wolves and bears, and we've got to have a bon-

fire tonight or they might give trouble." When the mother remarked that they entertained no fear of wolves, the man laughed right heartily and said: "You just wait and we'll see if there isn't about two women around here somewhere that'll get pretty badly scared before long." With that remark he began the search for dry branches and limbs of fallen trees, and this he continued doing until there was collected quite a pile.

When darkness had settled down over them and the wagon had not returned as the stranger had ventured to prophesy, the ladies became more or less reconciled to the presence of the man. He accepted the food they prepared, but refused to go into the lean-to. An hour or so had passed, when the stranger, who all this time was watched from within with some remaining suspicion, called to them that they need have no fears of wolves who by this time were howling in the distance. Ere long these denizens of the night ventured quite near, and the ladies, thoroughly frightened, requested that he come into the lean-to. The stranger then approached the bonfire and requested Mrs. Richardson and her daughter to "step out and take a look at the green-eyes." This they did, and the daughter exclaimed in her fright: "Why, mother, there is a thousand of them. What would we have done alone?" The tall stranger laughed and said, addressing the young lady: "Miss, there is not more than a half dozen of the varmints, and every one of them is a coward. Now you just see if they are not." Taking a fire brand and waving it vigorously, the "green eyes" vanished and the howling was heard in the distance. The manifest danger confronting the ladies by the presence of such animals drew them nearer to their protector, and they acted on his suggestion to "go in and try and get some sleep while he kept watch." When morning broke the stranger announced his intention of returning home, saying as he started: "I'll find out today if your men folks get back all right, which I reckon they will, but if they don't, I'll be back here tonight and we'll keep the 'thousand pairs of green eyes' at a safe distance."

This was the introduction the Richardson family had to the future President, for the tall stranger who kept watch through the night was Abraham Lincoln. The Richardsons and the Lin-

colns became fast friends. It was William Richardson who stated that on one occasion when they were preparing to build a corn crib, and some heavy pieces of timber were to be put in place, the men engaged in doing this were making hand spikes with which to carry them. Lincoln chanced to come up and asked what they were going to do with hand spikes. When informed that they were being prepared to carry the heavy timbers Lincoln remarked that he could shoulder and carry the sticks himself, and at once acting upon the suggestion he actually performed the feat unaided. Richardson believed that it would have taken the combined strength of three or four men to do what Lincoln did.

It was this same Richardson who related another circumstance indicating the phenomenal strength of Lincoln. A chicken house was to be moved and some preparation was being made to do this when Lincoln picked it up bodily and carried it for some distance. Richardson thought that it "weighed at least six hundred pounds, and maybe more."

Whether it was this romantic meeting of Polly Richardson in the brush lean-to, or whether it was due to certain traits of character discerned in her by Lincoln, particularly her considerate kindness of heart in befriending him in certain ways, that attracted him, in any case he often "kept company with her." Aunt Polly, as she was generally called, was a lady of more than average intelligence. While she was not educated, yet in her use of language this was not particularly noticeable. She was never any more delighted than when surrounded by those who were anxious to know of some of her pioneer experiences, and particularly those pertaining to Lincoln. She often told of being accompanied by Lincoln to spelling bees, play parties, and to church, and even asserted that she was Lincoln's first sweetheart. If there be any reluctance on the part of anyone to accord this rather enviable distinction to the old lady who thus made the claim, it may be said in her behalf that her frankness in relating certain circumstances pertaining to this, and the regret occasioned by not having wisdom enough to foresee in her girlhood Lincoln's great career may to some extent plead more eloquently than any mere statement of fact by the writer.

Yes, I was Abe's first sweetheart,

He'd take me to spelling bees and play parties and to meetin' and the like, but still I can't say that I wanted him to go with me though. Still Abe was always mighty good, and I never found any fault with him excepting he was so tall and awkward. All the young girls my age made fun of Abe. They'd laugh at him right before his face, but Abe never 'peared to care. He was so good and he'd just laugh with them. Abe tried to go with some of them, but no sir-ee, they'd give him the mitten every time, just because he was as I say so tall and gawky, and it was mighty awkward I can tell you trying to keep company with a fellow as tall as Abe was. But still Abe was always so good and kind I never sacked him, but bein's I didn't have no other company them days when us young folks would all start to meetin' or somewhere else that away, I'd let Abe take me. I'd sometimes get right put out the way some of the girls treated him, a laughing and saying things, and so when we'd get off to ourselves I'd give them a piece of my mind about it. And then they'd all say that it is too bad the way we do, because Abe's so good, but they'd appear to forget all about it, for the very next time they'd do the same way. Abe wanted me to marry him, but I refused. I suppose if I had known he was to be President some day, I'd a took him.

The writer was once a schoolmaster, and was again and again made to think of Lincoln on daily seeing the children of the daughter of Colonel Lehmonowsky, one of Napoleon's old soldiers. The oldest son, Adam, was six feet and five inches in height; Charles, six feet and four inches; John, six feet and three inches; Anna, five feet and eleven inches; Sallie, five feet and nine inches, and Joseph, the baby, at fifteen years of age was six feet and six inches! This family was remarkable not only for their great stature, but were giants mentally as well. The extreme stature of the youngest member, his shuffling, shambling gait, and great good nature, with some degree of humor and wit, reminded one continually of Lincoln.

Not far from where Lincoln was reared there occurred a wedding some years since that made the story of Lincoln's first sweetheart seem all the more plausible, especially that part which relates to his great stature and awkwardness.

A veritable son of Anak, six feet and six inches in stature, married a diminutive little lady four feet and six tall. The nuptial bands were solemnized in a "meeting house" in the presence of the entire countryside. The wedding was quite simple throughout. There were no flower girls, no best man nor bridesmaids; no soloist sang "O, promise me," nor did the

bride reach the Hymeneal Altar leaning on the arm of her father, keeping step to the strains of Mendelssohn's Wedding March. Instead, at the appointed hour, which followed the sermon, the bride and groom came down the center aisle unattended; the groom making long, ungainly strides and the bride holding on to his arm akimbo with the tip of her fingers, while some wag in the choir who had a fine sense of appropriateness pitched the old time camp meeting hymn, "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms," and by the time the happy, but somewhat embarrassed couple reached the chancel, the choir lustily joined in the chorus.

While Lincoln was acting as ferryman at the mouth of Anderson creek, a corn husking took place in the neighborhood which he of course attended. At such times, as at log rollings and raisings, the work was divided equally into two parts and captains elected, who "chose up", thus dividing the crowd preparatory to a race. On the particular occasion above referred to, Lincoln while busily husking away, intent on making his side "beat", kept up a running fire of humorous remarks at the expense of the other side, directing his remarks toward one man. This individual, not possessing a temperamental make-up such as to endure this long, accordingly gave way to his anger and hurled an ear of corn at Lincoln across the rail that divided the pile of corn. Taking good aim he threw the hard, horny nub at Lincoln, striking him full in the breast and cutting such a gash as to leave a scar which Lincoln carried to his grave. Lincoln did not reply in kind against his assailant, but his anger arose.

There were some customs more or less peculiar to this part of the State in Lincoln's day, continuing for years thereafter, and among these was the celebration of the New Year. The ceremony, while lacking the refinement and more poetic sentiments usually supposed to have attended the Yuletide in northern Europe, yet considering that it was a backwoods custom during the holiday week the method of celebration possessed a sense of appropriateness. At the midnight hour, just as the old year was dying and the New Year about to be ushered in, large numbers of men and boys with firearms assembled before a farm residence, and without any warning a voice began re-

citing, rather stump fashion, a bit of crude verse which was called "the New Year's Speech." The person chosen to recite this was usually one possessing the gift of "oratory." Knowing that Lincoln was much given to public exhibitions and disposed to make addresses on numerous occasions, it was presumed that he frequently made the New Year's Speech. This fact, however, was not certainly established. Since the custom of the pioneers has passed away, with many other things peculiar to them, the New Year's Speech brought from the South is here given:

Awake! Awake! my neighbor dear
And to my wish pray lend an ear.
The New Year is now at your door,
The Old Year is past and comes no more;
And I for you wish a Happy Year
That you from bad luck may keep clear;
That your family, and all the rest
May with content be ever blest.
That you may be free and able
To feed the hungry at your table;
That your barns and all your cribs
May with much grain be stocked
Your fields and meadows handsomely flocked
And scarcity not be known.
But mind there is the Blessed Hand
Who gives and takes at His command.
But now before I make an end,
For too much time I cannot spend,
Shall I salute you with my gun,
Or would you wish the report to shun?

Just here the speaker paused and if granted permission to fire his gun, the speech was resumed as follows:

Now, since you gave me leave,
I do now here declare
The noise shall sound throughout the air,
Sausage and pudding will be right
To satisfy our appetite.
Whiskey Bounce or Apple Brandy,
Or any liquor that comes handy.
And we will receive it with thanks to thine
And this is the end and wish of mine.

Just as the speech was finished a volley or two was fired, and when ample justice had been done to sausage and pudding, as well as satisfying the thirst, the guns were reloaded and another house sought. This was kept up throughout the remainder of the night, the speech being repeated at each place.

LINCOLN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CHURCH AND RELIGION

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. * * * God bless all the churches, and blessed be God who in this great trial giveth us the churches.

During Mr. Lincoln's early life he was disposed more or less toward fatalism, not that there was any one act of his, or any single utterance by which this fact could be established, so much as there was discerned an approach toward all undertakings in life with this conviction dogging his footsteps. These fatalistic beliefs were so general among the people of that day as to include practically all.

Lincoln seems to have yielded so far to the ultra Calvinistic teachings characterizing the pulpit efforts and emphasis of that day as to become more or less submissive to what was conceded to be the stern and inevitable decrees of Fate. This strange belief must not be confounded with that bold and open opposition to religious faith, as was the boast of some, but was in fact a religious and Christian interpretation of the teachings of the scriptures, especially peculiar to the primitive Baptists.

Lincoln was not a communicant of the Little Pigeon Baptist church, although his father, mother and sister were; likewise the Johnsons, his step-sisters and step-brother. His father and mother united with this church by letter, thus indicating their connection with the church in Kentucky.

While Lincoln was more or less indoctrinated with the fatalistic tendencies of a theology generally prevalent at the same time he was not at all disposed to accept the common literal interpretation of the Scriptures and in consequence he held aloof from formal union with the church.

That we may more fully appreciate to what extent some of these teachings influenced the parishioners, a circumstance may be detailed that transpired in this region where Lincoln reached his majority, although many years after; but it will perhaps serve quite well by way of illustration to show this same religious emphasis lingering many decades later, and for that matter may yet be found in this region as well as elsewhere.

An aged man, just two years younger than Lincoln (well known to the writer) who was much given to theological disputation, gave as his belief that "what is to be will be, even if it never comes to pass;" that "God had decreed and fore-ordained certain things," and they "were bound to come to pass;" that there was no use to flee from imminent danger since each one of us was to die in a certain way, at a certain time, and no effort on our part could possibly prevent this. If we were to be drowned, or shot, or die of disease, then no matter what might befall us prior to the appointed hour this event would eventually take place according to Divine appointment.

This particular gentleman was quite aged when the horse-power threshing machine was succeeded by the steam thresher. A large crowd had gathered to witness the strange engine, and while many of them were gathered about it the water began foaming. This circumstance alarmed the engineer who was anything else but expert, and he hurriedly indicated his fears by announcing his intention of reaching a point of safety. Acting upon his better judgment he started at a lively pace out into an adjoining field, and without any need of further urging when the crowd witnessed his flight they all joined in. The old brother of fatalistic beliefs brought up the rear, by reason of infirmities of age and not because of any wish to be found in the extreme rear. After a safe distance had been reached and sufficient time had elapsed to allow all danger to pass, the engineer ventured back to his post again and pretty soon he announced that the "Iron Horse was all right." Whereupon certain adherents of the Methodist faith, who had been again and again subjected to humiliation and defeat by the superior ability of the

old Baptist brother to argue, now turned upon him mercilessly. After a good-natured laugh had been indulged in at his expense, the old gentleman remarked: "I've got as good a Baptist heart in me as any man, but I've got a cowardly pair of Methodist legs and they run away with me."

Lincoln would have enjoyed the laugh at the old Baptist brother's expense but the fatalistic teachings so possessed him that he would have still found a lurking belief that all such events were predetermined, and that this grip of Fate possessed us all. Later in life he threw off the major portion of these beliefs, but not all of them.

He retained the basic principle of that theology which taught the wholesome doctrine that "the Almighty hath his purposes." Not only did he believe that "if we did not do right, God was going to let us go our own way to ruin," but expressed the belief that "the Almighty was going to compel us to do right in order that he might destroy slavery, give success to our arms, and maintain our unity as a nation." He further said:

I do not believe that He will do these things so much because we desire them as that they accord with His plans of dealing with this nation. I think He means that we shall do more than we have yet done in furtherance of His plans, and He will open the way for our doing it. I have felt His hand upon me in great trials and submitted to His guidance, and I trust that as He shall further open the way I will be ready to walk therein, relying on His Help and trusting in His Goodness and wisdom.

It is a small matter as to what particular creed or sect this theology might properly belong, as compared to the greater fact that he had thrown himself fully upon the Almighty, and in so doing he worthily took his place along side of Moses, Joshua and Paul.

His early theology made the heavens brass and the unchanging decrees made God stern, exacting and demanding justice. His later faith was so modified by sorrows and trials as to believe in the efficacy of prayer, and he came to see God's beneficence and mercy mingled with His justice. Lincoln's daily habit from early youth was to read the Scriptures and give himself to prayer. It would appear that this fact and the sentiment and spirit of some of his great State papers

would be quite sufficient to have prevented Ingersol and others possessing liberalistic views to assert, as they were accustomed to do, that he was an unbeliever.

That Lincoln, after reaching Illinois, passed through a period of religious doubt, even to the extent of questioning the authenticity of the Bible and denying the divinity and sonship of Christ, is undoubtedly true. However, there was nothing ever uttered by him either in any public manner or in private conversation while a resident of Indiana that even so much as indicated any liberalistic views or tendencies. He made no pretensions, however, of being a Christian during his youth; that is, he made no public profession, and was not regarded as such by his associates. Mr. Lincoln certainly was not a Christian in the orthodox sense until sometime after reaching the White House, if indeed he ever became such as measured by certain formulas. Herndon, Colonel Lamon and Major John Hay all stoutly maintained that he never changed his religious beliefs at all.

In making the simple statement that young Lincoln was not a Christian, nor so regarded by his associates, it would be altogether misleading unless it be properly understood. Their standards and his for presuming upon such a claim were of course measured by the practice of the local church in demanding the observance of certain forms and subscribing to certain tenets. It was, of course, not allowed that any one could be so presumptuous as to set forth the claim that he was a Christian, independent of these. Lincoln not having done this was, of course, not considered as being a Christian.

It may be truly said, without casting any aspersion upon the character and profession of some, that there were others, indeed many, who composed the membership of Little Pigeon Baptist church in Lincoln's day who possessed doubtful morality; certainly they failed to measure up to the requirements of Christian standards of living generally in vogue today. It is not charged that gross and flagrant wrongdoing characterized any one of them, but it is claimed that delinquencies in many matters were the rule.

The ministry themselves were often indeed quite generally given to dram drinking, and certainly this was true of

substantially all the parishioners—women as well as men. It will be seen, therefore, that these well-meaning pioneers hedged up the door of entrance into the kingdom by erroneous theological emphasis upon some matters by demanding of all who sought fellowship with them that they subscribe to these, but too often their own delinquencies and shortcomings were such as to be only too painfully apparent.

Lincoln, given to approaching any and all things along lines of reason, could not fail to note the inconsistencies in profession and practice. Possessing morals quite beyond most people, abstaining from the use of intoxicants and tobacco, temperate in speech and painstakingly honest and truthful, given to reading the Bible daily, and regarded as possessing such a wholesome amount of common sense and sound judgment as to be selected to adjudicate all differences arising among his fellows, it may therefore be seen that while Lincoln made no profession of religious faith in conformity to the standards of the time, yet his character was quite beyond that of others.

For this youth, who if not educated in the ordinary acceptance of the term, possessed more knowledge even then perhaps than most of us are ready to allow, and being acquainted for instance, as we know that Lincoln was, with the movement of the heavenly bodies, and then to hear in the Sunday sermon the maledictions of Heaven hurled at "edicated" folks who presumed to think that the earth was round, that it "revolved upon its axle tree," and similar animadversions, one can deeply sympathize with a disposition to refrain from formal union with such a class.

Again, for young Lincoln to assemble with these worshippers in Little Pigeon church; the preacher and people to engage as they often did in a give and take sort of fashion in the coarse, crude jokes of doubtful propriety anywhere—much less in a place of worship—hurling at one another, albeit good-naturedly, hilarious repartee and scintillating witticisms better suited to the school house debates; and when the minister suggested that it was time for worship, for some old brother to start the hymn, "How Tedious and Tasteless the Hours," pitching it in a strange key, putting in

an unconscionable number of quarter and half rests, and then for the leader, perhaps, at the close of the stanza to expectorate his ambler in a belated sort of manner, no matter where, preparatory to another effort; and when that was finished and the sermon was entered upon, with all of the vials of wrath poured forth, and anathemas heaped upon the heads of offenders (as was often the case) in such a fashion as to indicate enjoyment in anticipation, with a great deal of sound and little sense; therefore, for a youth of Lincoln's purity of character and sense of propriety, faculty of reasoning and freedom from such habits above referred to, to refrain from formal union with the church is after all not a thing to excite wonder or provoke harsh criticism.

In calling attention to some of the foregoing things peculiar to the pioneer days generally prevailing, and even today found in Kentucky and Tennessee, there is no disposition to excuse Mr. Lincoln from the mistake certainly chargeable to him of refraining from formal union with the church at a later period. It is hoped that the treatment here offered concerning the crude manner of worship and erroneous emphasis of the primitive Baptists will not be taken as an intentional slight upon that branch of the church. (The writer's forebears were of that faith.) While some justification for young Lincoln's attitude toward this class is here set forth, yet it is manifestly true that this particular church so generally prevalent in large sections of the country during the formative period, furnished the sole means of worship, and so administered to the spiritual needs of the people as abundantly to justify its existence.

The question of Mr. Lincoln's religious attitude later in life has provoked considerable discussion. Substantially all creeds, like all political parties, have claimed him. Those entertaining liberalistic views have been quite as free as any in asserting the claim that Lincoln was of their number. This was the boast of Colonel Ingersol, of agnostic fame. Mr. Herndon, his law partner, said that his religious faith was best represented by the teachings of Theodore Parker; and he and others possessing religious beliefs that classed them as deists were disposed to claim Mr. Lincoln as possessing a

like faith. This class in particular have challenged those who claim Mr. Lincoln as a Christian to point out in all of his utterances at any time a sentence where the name of Jesus Christ was used. This attitude is wholly unworthy of such men as Herndon, Lamon and others. Lincoln told his particular friend, Bishop Simpson, that he did pass through a period of doubt and distrust of the Scriptures, but that he later came to see the folly of such. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that Mr. Lincoln's language in reference to Deity was such as to give no offense to any faith or creed.

It is believed that no one today would be disposed to undertake the hopeless and thankless task of attempting to substantiate the claim that Mr. Lincoln was not a Christian in view of all the evidence at hand to the contrary. With a sincere purpose of doing the right as "God gave him to see the right," far removed as he was above the loose morality of strong partisan politics, refusing as he did repeatedly to be governed by notable examples of expediency, and mere conventionalities; absolutely unmindful of probable accusations in his departure from an age-long custom of indirection in diplomacy; implicitly trusting in the plain people; relying upon the "gracious favor of Almighty God," with no disposition at any time to substitute expediency for conscience; willing rather to lose popular applause or any mere temporary advantage than even to appear to take liberties with possible success by a firm adherence to the eternal principles of justice and truth; with a sublime patience and unexampled fortitude, he refused to be moved by the clamor of public opinion.

He was a statesman without craft; a politician without cunning; a great man with many virtues and no vices; a ruler without the arrogancy of pride and the bigotry of power; ambitious without mere selfish personal gratification, and successful without becoming vain-glorious. If that Hebrew lawgiver and leader, Moses, in that unprecedented wilderness march with a horde of newly liberated slaves, felt that faith was depleted or courage run low, he could and did betimes climb the mountain stairway and cry to the God of battles, and Jehovah came down "in trailing clouds of Glory;" or if he were harassed by the pursuing foe, or flanked by fiery

serpents, he could afford to be content, for was not the Almighty himself on the picket line in a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night? But not so this later liberator whose tall form was stooping under the terrible burdens, both North and South. What wonder that betimes we see him on his knees in the White House in prayer with Bishop Simpson, or, as when Lee flushed with victory on the gory fields of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville turned his victorious legions north once more, Lincoln fell upon his face and cried to the God of Battles: "This is your war. The North can't stand another Chancellorsville. You stand by our boys at Gettysburg and I'll stand by you;" and he did.

YOUNG LINCOLN ON THE STUMP

My opinion is that no State can in any way lawfully get out of the Union. It is the duty of the President to run the machine as it is. I reckon that it will be some time before the front door sets up house keeping on its own account.

The boyhood friends of Lincoln were quite pronounced in stating that while Lincoln was ever ready to enter into all of their boyish sports, especially to accompany them to any place where there was a crowd, he could not be induced either to play, fish, or accompany them on any expedition of any character if he had in his possession a new book. Lincoln himself, in later life said that he borrowed all the books to be found for a radius of fifty miles. His habit was to commit to memory such portions as particularly pleased him, making copious notes on paper, if he had it, but if he did not (as was frequently the case) he made free use of boards, the wooden fire shovel or any smooth surface presenting itself. He was an omnivorous reader, devouring anything offered. He regularly borrowed the *Louisville Journal* from Jones, the storekeeper, and a temperance paper and religious publication from a neighbor by the name of Woods. Lincoln had strong convictions on the subject of temperance, and in reading the publication borrowed from Woods was encouraged to commit some of his own thoughts to paper. He took this to his old friend and was pleased when "Uncle Woods" said that

"for sound sense it was better than anything in the paper." Woods in turn showed the manuscript to a Baptist preacher who was so delighted with it as to believe that it was beyond anything found in the temperance journal, and proposed sending it to the editor at some point in Ohio. It is said that this article was accepted and appeared in the paper, to the great delight of Lincoln as well as of his patron and friend, Woods.

Succeeding so well in this venture, he attempted a political treatment, taking as his theme, National Politics. The subject doubtless suggested itself to him on reading the Louisville paper. This manuscript was submitted to his old friend Woods, as before, who showed it to Judge John Pitcher, an attorney residing at Rockport. Pitcher on reading the article exclaimed: "The world can't beat it." This remark greatly encouraged young Lincoln, and he journeyed to Rockport to call upon Pitcher at his office. It is claimed that subsequently Pitcher loaned Lincoln law books, and showed him considerable attention, such as "drawing him out" in conversation on finding him a great talker and quite original in his ideas and methods of investigation.

The essay on National Politics, while not preserved entire, has been in part, and from these sentences some notion may be formed as to Lincoln's ideas at that early period:

The American government is the best form of government for an intelligent people; it ought to be kept sound and preserved forever. * * * General education should be fostered and carried all over the country; and the constitution should be saved, the Union perpetuated and the laws revered, respected and enforced.

Lincoln's plea for educational advantages is pathetic when his own disadvantages were so marked.

Among those pioneers in this section who, after attaining old age, were rich in the remembrances of former years, was Captain John LaMar. The LaMars were among the first settlers in this part of the State. Captain LaMar witnessed the killing of the last Indian by the whites in this region, there having been more or less trouble between the two races prior to the Battle of Tippecanoe as well as such minor engagements as the Pigeon Roost Massacre. However, by the time

the Lincolns settled here the Indians had nearly all left this section. The writer had as a parishioner in his church, Mrs. LaMar, a lady four years younger than Mr. Lincoln, and being a neighbor, of course knew him quite well. Captain LaMar, on one occasion, was riding to mill with his father along the road leading past the Lincoln cabin. They observed a boy perched upon the top of a staked-and-ridered fence, reading and so intently engaged that he did not notice their approach. The elder LaMar was so impressed with this fact that he remarked to his son:-

John, look at that boy yonder! You mark my words, he will make a smart man out of himself. I may not see it, but you see if my words don't come true.

Captain LaMar lived to witness the fulfillment of his father's prophesy. He was present on the occasion of the unveiling of the Nancy Hanks monument in 1902.

"Nat" Grigsby said:

Lincoln was always at school quite early and attended to his studies diligently. He always stood at the head of his class and passed the rest of us rapidly in his studies. He lost no time at home, and when he was not at work he was at his books.

The schoolmates of Lincoln stated that he was never rude on the playground, and was usually made choice of when an arbiter was needed in adjusting difficulties between boys of his age and size. When his decision was given, it put an end to the trouble.

In an interview with Dennis Hanks by Mr. Herndon, the former said:

We learned by sight, scent and hearing. We heard all that was said, and talked over and over the questions heard, and wore them slick and greasy and threadbare. We went to hear political and other speeches, and to such gatherings as you do now. We would hear all sides and opinions and talk them over, discuss them, agreeing or disagreeing. Abe was a cheerful boy. Sometimes he would get sad, but not very often. He was always reading, scribbling, ciphering and writing poetry.

Miss Roby, who married Allen Gentry, the young man with whom Lincoln made the celebrated flatboat trip down the Mississippi river, said that she was at Gentry's Landing

while this boat was being loaded preparatory to making the southern journey. In speaking of Lincoln at this time she said: "He was long, thin and gawky, his skin having the appearance of being dried up and shriveled." One evening as they sat on the edge of the boat with their feet in the water, Miss Roby called attention to the sunset; whereupon Lincoln explained to her that the sun did not move in fact, but only appeared to do so; that it was the earth that went around the sun. The young lady laughed at the absurdity of such notions and thought him foolish, but later came to realize that young Lincoln was not foolish, but knew much more than anyone around there supposed.

It was this same young lady who related a circumstance that took place in the schoolroom when all the scholars were engaged on a Friday afternoon spelling match. This circumstance has been related by almost all of the earlier biographers of Mr. Lincoln. The schoolmaster, Crawford, had "given out" the word "defied," and the first one attempting it had said: "d-e-f-y-e-d;" the second "d-e-f-f-yed" and at length it came Miss Roby's turn. Not being certain she chanced to look across the room where Lincoln stood smiling. She notice him slyly placing his finger to his eye, and taking the hint she spelled the word correctly and went to the head of her class. Young Lincoln was ever regarded as a good speller, and particularly so by the time he reached his seventeenth year. In fact, he was easily the best speller in the neighborhood and was commonly supposed to know quite as much as his teachers, and more than some of them.

As late as the year 1880, in this section, if a young man excelled in spelling so that he could "take the floor" at spelling matches, and could "solve all the problems in the arithmetic," he was regarded as learned; and no one questioned his ability to teach school.

Lincoln especially liked argumentative bouts, and this caused him to be much in the company of his elders. This habit he later styled "practicing polemics." His ability to argue, and his particular enjoyment of it, seems to have been maintained during his occupancy of the White House. His secretaries are on record as saying that he spent more time

and greater pains with the famous Vallandigham letter than with any State paper.

As a youth he was quite inquisitive on almost any subject, and his habit was never to leave a subject, however difficult, until he had mastered it. He was a good listener, and appeared to know when to keep silent when in company of his elders. After hearing fireside discussions, if certain phases were not clear to him, he lay awake after retiring and beginning at the first of the argument he carefully reviewed it step by step until he had thoroughly satisfied his own mind of the certainty of conclusions reached. He often walked to and fro for considerable periods, repeating these arguments to himself, and after mastering them once he never forgot them. As he later put it, he "was not satisfied when on a hunt for an idea until he could bound it north and south, east and west." He was slow in reaching conclusions, but when once he announced his decision in any given matter, he could not be moved by the force of argument or any other pressure brought to bear.

Many of his well-known stories, anecdotes and "yarns" were of Indiana origin. He and Dennis Hanks usually spent their evenings at the Gentryville store, and on rainy days they might be found either at the store or at Baldwin's blacksmith shop. Baldwin was a great master at story telling, and it was his "yarns" afterward related by Lincoln that caused members of cabinets or Congress, and even representatives of foreign countries, to smile or laugh uproariously.

It was his custom, after reading the *Louisville Journal* at Jones' store to meditate upon what he had read, and then while at work in the fields he would often review some of these discussions for the benefit of his associates.

Lincoln has been accused of being lazy, and in support of this assertion more or less evidence has been offered. Mr. Romine, a near neighbor to the Lincolns and for whom Abraham often labored, is quoted as saying that "Lincoln was lazy." The writer did not know Mr. Romine, but Mrs. Romine was yet living when the data composing these pages were being obtained. In no single instance was this charge of laziness made against Lincoln by any of his early friends.

However, it is believed that some of them would have been inclined to this belief had they been approached earlier in life when it was the fashion to make the charge against any who spent time poring over books. For any chance passerby to see a youth lying beneath the shade of a tree, busily reading, was *prima facie* evidence that he was lazy and usually occasioned, as in Lincoln's case, some such remark as, "Old Tom's Abe'd ruther fool his time away a readin' out of a book than to work any day." Indeed, this disposition to criticise those who engage in purely mental labors while others were in the fields or shops is met with frequently even today.

Not long since in this very region, an artist spent some days on an eminence sketching a landscape, and he was subjected to severe criticism by the farm laborers, remarking that "he is doubtless the son of a bloated aristocrat and was not raised to work." Thus in Lincoln's time for one to have a day off and elect to spend it in reading, was regarded as indicating a lazy disposition. Had the day off been spent along the river bank with hook and line, or in the woods with the gun, it would have elicited no unfavorable comment. The major portion of Lincoln's early friends came to realize this, and where once might have been found carping criticism, at the time the writer was gathering data he found commendation.

The fact that Lincoln frequented the Gentryville store or blacksmith shop has been cited as evidence quite sufficient to establish the charge that he was lazy. There is a rule in logic that if too much is proven, then nothing is proved. Certainly, if the mere fact that Lincoln was often found at Gentryville is deemed sufficient evidence to prove his indifference to work, then substantially all of his neighbors were lazy, since Gentryville was a Saturday town or rainy day town for the surrounding neighborhood, just as many towns are today. As congressmen and senators frequent the cloakroom, smoking and indulging themselves in the pastime of story telling, so in like manner Lincoln frequented the pioneer cloakroom—Jones' store—thus gathering that fund of stories and anecdotes which he afterward related to his associates and White House visitors. Lincoln's boyhood friends indicated that "he

was ever ready to turn his hand at anything, no matter much what, and was always at work if there was any work to be had."

Joseph Gentry, a brother of Allen, told of hearing Lincoln make his first public address, apart from such efforts as the schoolhouse debates occasioned. The circumstances leading up to this were as follows:

Two neighbors each owned a flock of geese, and one evening when one of these flocks returned and was being housed for the night, it was ascertained that a certain grey goose was missing. The owner, knowing that his flock occasionally mingled with that of his neighbor, and very naturally supposing that it had strayed off with these, he accordingly went to the home of the owner of the other flock. On his arrival there he explained his mission, and at once pointed to a certain goose claiming it as his; whereupon the neighbor disputed the claim, and before long this occasioned a heated argument which came little short of a personal encounter. The two disputants made sundry threats on separating, each saying in effect that the matter was not settled, and the owner of the stray goose indicated that he would "bring the matter before the squire." Accordingly, attorneys were consulted and employed to prosecute and defend. The day was set for the trial, the court room being the schoolhouse about one mile east of the Lincoln cabin.

The difference between these two neighbors occasioning the litigation very naturally produced intense interest throughout the community, so much so in fact that when the day fixed for the trial came, a great crowd assembled. However, not all of these came merely to gratify curiosity, for both sides had subpoenaed a number of witnesses. Mr. Gentry stated that so far as to his having any personal interest or motive in attending, it was due solely to a boyish curiosity to witness these proceedings, and falling in with Lincoln, who was at that time in his seventeenth year, they walked together to the schoolhouse. Arriving early, they went well forward and sat down on a backless puncheon seat. Erelong the little house was crowded. The two litigants, together with members of their families and friends, were seated on

either side of the room. There was that characteristic stillness that foreboded a storm, and presently, without any warning whatever, Lincoln arose, and advancing quickly forward, faced the assembled crowd and began making an address. Gentry maintained that Lincoln had not previously indicated his purpose to him or to others of attempting such a thing, and when he thus stood forth and began the speech he (Gentry) was greatly surprised. It was, of course, not possible for Gentry to give the exact language of Lincoln on this occasion, but since the circumstances were indelibly fixed in his memory he found no great difficulty in setting forth the scene rather vividly, and it is believed that the following version of it is substantially what occurred:

Friends and neighbors, what means this great gathering of old neighbors? What is it that has called us together here? (up to this time the speaker's face being as serious as Lincoln's face could be) and then amid the painful silence his features changed, his eyebrows lifted, and irresistible humor beamed forth.) "What brings us together? Why—an—old—gray—goose!" A great roar of laughter greeted this ludicrous drawl, but not being interrupted in any way and doubtless encouraged to proceed by the volley of laughter, he continued (serious again), this time stating the case. "Mr. A., here (addressing him), has lost a goose and he asserts that his neighbor, Mr. B., here (pointing) has it. Although Mr. B. disclaims having in his possession any goose not his own, not being able or disposed to settle their difference between themselves, they have decided to go to law, and that's why we are all here." (Comical again.) "Mr. A. (addressing him), you say you have lost a gray goose, and that you know that Mr. B., here has it, and rather than lose it you have resolved to bring the matter to the court. Now you, Mr. A. (pointing and then quickly turning his face and body half about) and you Mr. B., after you've had your trial today, and no matter which way it goes, what have either of you gained? W-E-L-L. Mr. A., if you win your case you'll get back your old gray goose, and it-is-worth-say-about-two-bits! (great laughter). And you, Mr. B., if you win today, you'll get to keep your old gray goose that you claim has always been yours, and it's worth say-about-two-bits (laughter). Now you, Mr. A. (serious again), and you, Mr. B., if you win today you'll get back your goose or keep your goose as the case may be, but (very earnestly) I tell both of you that whichever one may win, he's going to lose! And lose what, you say? Well, you have both been neighbors, and you'll lose your friendship for one another for one thing; and not only that, it won't stop there. For what means this array of witnesses here? (pointing). It means your wives and family and friends will be at outs, and you've set up a commotion in the entire neighborhood, and what about? (exceedingly comical). Oh, w-e-l-l, all-on-account-of-an-

old-gray-goose! If I were in your place, men, I'd stop all this hair pulling and wool gathering. I'd get together here and now and settle this thing, make up and be friends.

The result was that just as the court and the two attorneys from the county seat town came through the little doorway, Lincoln had the two litigants shaking hands and smiling. Lincoln had thus laughed the matter out of court and won his maiden case which may not inaptly or inappropriately be called "The Gray Goose case."

Thoughtful consideration is invited by way of comparison of this circumstance with Lincoln's Cincinnati speech where he presumes to address his "friends across the river," as well as his famous Cooper Institute address, and above all his first inaugural where he stands as the nation's peacemaker, saying: "You of the North and you of the South, you can not fight always, and after you have fought with much loss on both sides with no gain * * * can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?"

The method and manner, certainly the peculiar platform mannerisms, the skilful bringing together of humor and the setting forth of the serious side, were pre-eminently characteristic of young Lincoln so that when he sprang into the arena of debate later, he came fully armed to meet the "Little Giant" Douglass, if not with a shepherd's crook and sling, with weapons more formidable—the speech and faith of the plain people, appealing as he did "to the considerate judgment of mankind and invoking the gracious favor of Almighty God" in defense of a holy cause that had been repeatedly defied.

The unrivaled genius of Lincoln whose consummate art in statement enabled him to become such a wizard with the pen, and which flowered out on the prairies of Illinois, was budding forth in the morning of his life in the wilderness of Indiana, becoming, as he did in after years, "the greatest leader of all, he had the humblest origin and scantiest scholarship, yet he surpassed all orators in eloquence, all diplomats in wisdom, all statesmen in foresight and the most ambitious in fame."

(To be Continued)

Reviews and Notes

Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916. By JAMES SPRUNT. Second Edition, Raleigh, 1916; pp. xii, 732.

It will no doubt be a surprise to many readers to find a volume of this size filled with the history of this small district; it is hardly more than a large community. The district is quite as fortunate in having Mr. Sprunt as one of its citizens as in having two and one half centuries of interesting history. As early as 1663 commissioners sent from the Barbadoes examined the North Carolina coast with a view to settlement. Almost a century previous, 1585, the old English sea dog, Sir Richard Greenville, had coasted along the sandy shores of Cape Fear. In 1660, or thereabouts, adventurers from Massachusetts established a trading post on the Cape Fear river. The first permanent settlers arrived May 24, 1664. The colony was thus over a century old when the Revolution broke out; two centuries old in time of the Civil war. Some four hundred men went from here in 1740 to fight the Spaniards on the Spanish Main. During this period the Cape Fear river bank was dotted with fine old plantations. On the headwaters of the river were Scotch refugees from the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland, from Glencoe and Culloden. The story of Flora McDonald is both interesting and pathetic, to the thousands of Scotch descendants in the Northwest. The material development of the country from 1790 to 1860—canals, railroads, steamboats—the growth of institutional life, form a significant story and in this volume it is mingled with enough reminiscent incidents, such as a visit to Wilmington in 1852 by Joseph Jefferson, to make the whole interesting. By far the greatest interest, historically, attaches to the chapter dealing with the Civil war. The Cape Fear coast, guarded by Fort Fisher, was the most difficult section on the whole Confederate seaboard to close against blockade runners. Fort Fisher was the last gateway of the Confederacy to the outside world. More than one hundred of these blockade runners are named

and many of their exploits are told. One, the *Siren*, made 64 trips through the blockade. Altogether it is a volume which will hold one's attention and repay the time spent in reading. No effort has been made to test it for accuracy, except in a general way, but the writer has evidently put in many years in a faithful search for materials. The sources are indicated.

Colonial Virginia Its People and Customs, by MARY NEWTON STANARD; published by J. B. Lippincott Co. 1917; pp. 376.

This is a sumptuous volume from the standpoint of the bookmaker and is not less attractive either from that of the reader or historian. The author has become saturated with the rich life of the Old Dominion in colonial times. The author has gathered her materials from the files of the old *Virginia Gazette*, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, *William and Mary College Quarterly* and the many collections of public records yet preserved in the county towns. The author has in her work held in mind a picture of the olden times rather than what is usually understood by the term history. Such chapter heads as The Virginia People; Houses, from Log Cabin to Mansion; Household Goods; Social Life; Courtship and Marriage; Dress, Theater, Outdoor Sports; Education, Books, Music, Pictures; Religion; and Funeral Customs show the scope of the book. Many readers will perhaps be surprised to find in Virginia just as great a desire for education and religion as there was in New England. Life in Virginia was much fuller than in any other of the colonies, just as her statesmen of that period were farther-sighted. The famous old families of Virginia are often in the story and thousands of their descendants scattered in the West will be pleased to visit their ancestral homes in this volume. The author's style is well-suited to the subject. More than two score full page photogravures illustrate the text. It is one of the most attractive and readable volumes published during the year. By all means it should stand side by side with Bruce's *Institutional History of Virginia* to give color and life to the picture.

History of the United States. By EMERSON DAVID FITE, Ph. D. Professor of Political Science in Vassar College. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1916. pp. x—575.

This text is fully illustrated with nine maps in color and thirty-five in black in addition to above two hundred cuts. In the opinion of the reviewer this volume approaches more nearly the ideal text in United States history than any that has come to his attention. The perspective, the proper proportion between the various fields of our history, has been more nearly attained. The political principles, commercial policies and customs, developed in colonial times and later built into the national life, have been developed and other material either passed by or only casually noticed. Two other features are commendable. The author has never allowed himself in describing governmental activities to forget the conditions which give rise to those activities. This has necessitated a constant counterplay between the home life of the people and the conduct of their representatives in government. This has necessitated the use of what seems at first an unnecessary amount of detail concerning commercial and social life but this is in reality the best feature of the book. One can see from page to page the people taking possession of their heritage of natural resources and reducing it to a nation of homes. The cow-boys on the ranches, the circuit riders organizing the churches, the politicians organizing counties and States and the promoters opening up mines or building cities and railroads, all are shown in their characteristic capacities and their influence on the nation is deduced. The second feature is the avoidance of the common didacticism of most of our text books. The field of generalization in history is usually best left to the reader and especially is the teacher robbed of his opportunity when the facts of history are thus interpreted by the author. It is as if an author of an arithmetic should carefully solve every problem; or an editor of the Latin classics should furnish the student with an interlinear translation. History with such a text ceases to be a study and becomes a mere memory exercise, a weariness to both teacher and pupil. The volume under review seems to be a most promising text. The problem of

the text is set forth in the following quotation from Crevecoer, quoted by Dr. Fite on page 100: "What then is an American, this new Man? He is neither an European, nor the descendant of an European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family, whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received into the broad lap of our great 'alma mater'. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry, which began long since in the east. They will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered over all Europe. Here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared. . . . The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence . . . This is an American."

Sieur de Vincennes Identified. By PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. vii, No. 1). Indianapolis, C. E. Pauley and Company 1917, pp. 130.

The documents contained in this study and the comments upon them establish beyond doubt that the founder of the post on the Wabash was Francois-Marie Bissot de Vincennes. The author goes into considerable detail in regard to his family and the whole discussion incidentally throws some light on the dealings of the government of New France with the Miamis and other tribes on the Wabash.

Of the hundred twenty pages of that only twenty-five are devoted to the "Sieur de Vincennes" (pp. 81-105), about forty-

five to his father Jean-Baptiste (pp. 31-75) and the remaining pages to other relatives, particularly to the related family Margane de Laveltrie, which some writers have regarded as the family Vincennes. This arrangement of space is doubtless due to the limitations of the material at M. Roy's disposal, but the elder Vincennes, on his own merits, is not unworthy the attention of students of Indiana history. He too was an officer in the French army and a strong wielder of French influence among the Miamis. It appears also that he took advantage of his position to carry on an illicit trade with the Indians. Perhaps his chief importance is due to his success in persuading the Miamis to resist the tempting advances of the British traders.

The young Francois-Marie followed the career of his father, and to the prestige of the elder Vincennes is probably due the ready acceptance of his authority by the Wabash Indians. So successful was he that, while hardly more than a boy, the commander of the Illinois sought to attach him to the service of Louisiana, and much to the indignation of the governor of Canada, succeeded. The government of Louisiana was making great efforts to exclude the British from the upper Mississippi Valley, and this policy apparently led to the founding of the post that later became Vincennes.

The treatment of the founding of Post Vincennes is very slight and there is nothing on its early history. In the discussion of the battle with the Chickasaws the fact is not brought out that Bienville had appointed a rendezvous with D'artaguet at Ecois a Prud'homme for the tenth or eleventh of March, 1736, and then failed to keep his appointment. The statement of Rickarville that Vincennes was burned at the stake is accepted, although all other contemporary accounts that the present writer has seen indicate that he was killed in battle.

M. Roy does not always give the source of his authority but most of his documents have come originally from the French archives. He has made a very full tabulation of the publications that refer to his subject. He has succeeded admirably in presenting facts where much has been tradition and has cleared the way for accurate work on the early history of Post Vincennes.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS

Samuel Jordan Kirkwood, by DAN ELBERT CLARKE, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1917. p. xiv, 464.

Kirkwood was the "war governor" of Iowa. As such he holds a place in the estimation of Iowans similar to that held by Morton among Indianians. In fact their careers are similar in many regards. Each was a successful lawyer; each had achieved a high standing in the Democratic party when the position of that party on the slavery question forced him into the Republican party. Each almost at once became the leader of the Republican party in his State as well as its governor; each later went to the United States Senate and Kirkwood, still later, into Garfield's cabinet; each was bitterly opposed during the Civil war by southern sympathizers in his State. Governor Kirkwood was born in Harford county, Maryland, December 20, 1813; spent part of his boyhood in Washington, D. C.; taught school in Pennsylvania, one of his pupils being his cousin, Prof. Daniel Kirkwood, of Indiana University; in early manhood settled on a farm near Mansfield, Ohio; studied law and practiced in Mansfield, serving his State as prosecutor, member of the Constitutional convention, and member of the legislature; and in the spring of 1855 moved to Iowa City where he engaged in farming and milling, serving his State as assemblyman, three terms as governor and two as United States senator. Such in brief is the career of the man. Mr. Clark has written the biography from the papers and letters of Governor Kirkwood, from newspaper sources and from the *Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, (1893) by Henry W. Lathrop. The volume is fully noted, is readable and of convenient length.

Western Influences on Political Parties to 1825. An Essay in Historical Interpretation. The Ohio State University Bulletin XXII, No. 3. By HOMER C. HOCKETT, Professor of American History in the Ohio State University, Columbus, 1917, pp. 157, paper.

THE author has endeavored to find a "key to the political history of Monroe's presidency, so long superficially, known as the Era of Good Feeling." In search of this the author has ex-

amined the political history of the American people down to 1825. The first divisive issue, that between the Federalists and Antifederalists, was largely the old issue of property against personal rights. The Federalists controlled during the period following the Revolution until the settlement of the west and the consequent growth of democracy overwhelmed them. The struggle during this period was essentially one between the wealthier classes around tidewater and the poorer settlers in the west. The origin of this struggle, Professor Hodder finds, was far back in colonial times as soon as there became a differentiation between the commercial men of the coast and forest breakers on the frontier lines in New England, between the planters and the back country men in the south. The fear of the property men, it seems, was that the Democrats would rob their opponents by means of taxation. The principal reason for the Era of Good Feeling was the collapse of this struggle.

The old Republican party, born of a sectional struggle, really died when it became national, that is, when the west which it represented became the nationalist section. The new alignment into Democratic and Whig was due to this divergent interests of west and south. Thus, Professor Hockett concludes that these early parties had their origin in sectional interests. What influence the application of this theory of interpretation will have in the history of political parties is not pointed out. It is a thought-provoking essay, to say the least.

Little Turtle The Great Chief of the Miami Nation. By CALVIN M. YOUNG. Published by the author at Greenville, Ohio, 1917; pp. 249. Illustrated.

Little Turtle was the greatest of the Miami chieftains. As a native warrior and leader he ranks with Pontiac and Tecumseh, both of whom he probably excelled. It fell to his lot to meet the army of the United States in battle four times, under Harmar at Fort Wayne, St. Clair at Fort Recovery, under Wayne at Fort Recovery and again at Fallen Timbers, and win two victories. With one exception he administered the most crushing defeat ever received by an American army at the hands of the red men. It is to his credit as a general that his enemies usually outnumbered him and certainly were better equipped.

These are the stirring events about which Mr. Young has written. The author was born in Darke county, Ohio, (in which Greenville is located) spent part of his boyhood near the birthplace of Little Turtle on Eel river, in Indiana, and all his life in the neighborhood of the events about which he writes. Part of the narrative is composed of the traditions handed down in the vicinity. The author has clearly indicated the source of his information, however, so that the reader may judge for himself of its authenticity. Little Turtle is not made out a noble hero of the forest but is properly drawn as the capable, wily, savage he was. The story, in general, is sober, not overdrawn, plainly stated, and kept well within the evidence. There are scenes of sublime pathos where this chief of a declining race stands out manfully against his enemies, but it is the pathos of the situation, and the author wisely abstains from any attempt at fine writing or over-coloring. The story is one of great historical interest and the author has told it in a straightforward manner. The little volume should be in every library of the State so that our people may form the acquaintance of our greatest native son.

History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana. By OTHO WINGER, President of Manchester College. Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois; 1917, pp. 479.

The volume is confined entirely to Indiana. There is no account of the origin and earlier history of the denomination, nor any attempt to distinguish it from other churches in Indiana by a statement of its creed or discipline. The first chapter is a brief statement of pioneer conditions and a list of the twenty-four "mother churches" established before the organization of the State into districts.

Chapter two contains a brief historical account of each of the present one hundred and twenty-five congregations. This is a valuable bit of history and will be treasured as such, especially by all members of the church. The Congregations are given alphabetically and thus no idea of historical development is shown.

Chapter three deals with the church organization. The first district meeting seems to have been held about 1857 and

by 1863 such meetings were well established. These meetings are made up of ministers and elders and deal with questions not only of organization and policy but of creed and morals. Maps show each district and the location of each church within the district. Tables showing time, place, and officers of each meeting are given together with some of the more important proceedings. Chapter five deals with the Missionary activity of the church and Chapter six with education. In the latter chapter is a detailed history of Manchester College, a thriving college, now twenty-three years old, owned and conducted by the church. The last chapter contains a number of biographies of well-known members of the congregations in Indiana. President Winger has written in a simple straightforward manner, as all would expect who know him, and has covered satisfactorily a field of our State history on which little material was hitherto available.

Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley. An account of Marches and Activities of the First Regiment United States Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley between the years 1833 and 1850. By LOUIS PELZER. Published by the State Historical Society, Iowa City, 1917; pp. 282.

Besides giving a fair picture of the frontier from Chicago by way of central Iowa, Fort Leavenworth to Texas, this volume furnishes a background for the reading of many of our books of travel in the period covered. John J. Audubon, Captain Bonneville, George Catlin, George Croghan, De Smet, Thomas J. Farnham, Edmund Flagg, John C. Fremont, Josiah Gregg, and Francis Parkman were some of the many visitors at the frontier posts who are known in the literature of western travel. The volume also furnishes a counterpart to the history of the American Indians, and especially to that chapter (which has not been written) dealing with Indiana agencies.

Jefferson Barracks was the general rendezvous of the dragoons. Expeditions were made along the Santa Fe Trail to the Texan border, to the Pawnee Pict Village, to Des Moines, to the Rocky Mountains, up the Canadian and Arkansas rivers,

to South Dakota, Among the Sioux, along the Oregon Trail to the South Pass, to California, and to the Red River of the North. These show the field and extent of their operations. The volume is written from official reports obtained from the war department. One of these documents, which is included entire, is a journal by Capt. Nathan Boone, son of the great explorer of Kentucky. The value of the book is much reduced by the lack of maps. It can not be read without the aid of a map of that period. The writer in most cases has neglected to locate mentioned places which have long since disappeared or to identify men not widely known. Aside from these defects it is a readable, and for historical purposes, a very useful book.

History of the United States. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS, M. A. Published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1914. pp. xvii—378—xlvi.

This is a text book in United States History suitable for junior high school classes. The old traditional lines of text book writing have been closely followed, although the author states in the preface that he has introduced some innovations. In spite of an evident intention to abbreviate the colonial history there still remains considerably more than one-fourth of the entire volume devoted to this period. One half of this space it is believed could have been reserved profitably for a treatment of the great political and economic changes which have taken place since 1896. Sectional rivalries and bickerings over slavery and tariffs also might be passed over with more brevity. This fault, however, is found in every textbook on American History now before the public. The constructive statesmen like Hamilton, Monroe, Clay, Lincoln, and Hay are neglected for the sectional leaders of the Garrison, Webster, Calhoun type. Aside from these questions of perspective and emphasis there can be no objection to the book as a clearly written, well-arranged text. The sections are carefully organized, the leading points can not be missed and the style is picturesque and clear. The analyses and questions at the end of each chapter will be of service to most teachers.

Historical Sketches of the Wabash Valley. By J. WESLEY WHICKER, Attica, Indiana. Published by the author, 1917; pp. 159.

The author is an attorney, and a descendant of one of the early settlers of the community. The sketches represent the work of leisure hours in a field which has always had a fascination for the author. They were originally written for and published in the *Attica Ledger* as a means of rousing local interest in the centennial celebration of Indiana. The writer is well acquainted with the traditional history of the Middle Wabash Valley, and from these he has woven many delightful stories. While not always adhering to strictly documentary evidence, he never leaves the reader in doubt as to the source of his information. The sketches of Cicot, the scout, and Burnett, of Sheshepah, Topenebee, the Battle of Kickapoo, Ouiatenon, Harrison and the Battle of Tippecanoe are all most interesting. In fact there is not a dry sketch among the forty-six which constitute the volume. The biographies of Senator Hannegan, and Dr. Evans, the accounts of the building of the Wabash and Erie canal, the Wabash railroad, the founding and mutual rivalries of the towns of Maysville, Attica and Covington ending in the "Greek War" are all well told. There were also "communities"—the "Coal Creek Community", the "Fountain County Community" and the "Grand Prairie Harmonical Institute"—as well as a station on the "Underground", and a rendezvous of horsethieves. The author has done a public service to his county in thus putting these stories in form for preservation.

History of the United States Political Industrial Social. By CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., Chicago, 1917. pp. xx—540.

Professor Thompson has written his text from the economic standpoint. All the larger phases of our history, colonization, revolution, western migration, civil war, and political reorganization are interpreted by economic motives. Admitting that this is the proper method of writing and teaching

history then one is compelled to say the text under consideration is excellent. The points stand out clear, the chapters are well-organized and the style is clear, though perhaps too difficult for any classes below high school. As an industrial history it excels any of the recent texts. Two other features are worthy of attention. It embodies the researches of the latest investigators, especially those who have been working in the field of western history. The west is given more nearly its due proportion in the development of the republic. As a consequence the colonial history is abbreviated. This is an improvement. Moreover those lines of development which have tended toward strength and unity have been stressed. The slavery question, so often over-emphasized has been given a more restricted and more proportional treatment. Altogether, if one is willing to subscribe to the economic interpretation of history, it is a very desirable text for high schools or even freshmen in colleges.

Morgan's Raid in Indiana. (Indiana Historical Society Publications. VII, No. 2.) By LOUIS B. EWBANK, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1917, pp. 50. Paper.

Judge Ewbank has confined himself strictly to his subject beginning his story with the crossing of Morgan into Indiana at Mauckport and ending it with Morgan's passing through Harrison on the East State line. The story is written from the newspapers—the New Albany Ledger, the Indianapolis Journal, the Louisville Journal and the Madison Courier—the Official Records of the Rebellion, Basil Duke's Morgan's Cavalry, Morgan and his Captors, Smith's History of Indiana, and a very sparing use of the best source, the Indiana Adjutant General's Official Reports. No attempt has been made to use the vast amount of evidence still in the minds of those yet living who saw Morgan and took part in his pursuit. The story is plainly and simply told. The Confederate raiders are not unduly criticised as has sometimes been done by Indiana writers. They were on a legitimate raid and conducted themselves generally as good soldiers. Judge Ewbanks has merited the thanks of our people for thus making the story available.

Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society Vol. XVIII. Edited by ALBERT WATKINS, Historian of the Society, Lincoln, 1917, pp. xiii—449.

This volume includes the proceedings of the society from 1908 to 1916 inclusive together with the minutes of the directors' meetings for the same period. Besides these there are memorials of Charles S. Paine, former secretary of the society, James B. Kitchen, Jefferson H. Broady, and Lorenzo Crounse. The Historical papers are: Acknowledging God in Constitutions, by Rev. William Murphy; Nebraska Reminiscences, by William DeCoursey French; the Rural Carrier of 1849, by John K. Sheen; Trailing Texas Long-horn Cattle through Nebraska, by James H. Cook; Neapolis, Near-Capital, by Albert Watkins; Controversy in the Senate over the Admission of Nebraska, by John Lee Webster; and How Nebraska was brought into the Union, by Albert Watkins. The volume has eleven full-page illustrations.

Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Proceedings of the Society at its Sixty-fourth Annual Meeting, October 19, 1916. Madison, 1917; pp. 363.

Besides the formal proceedings and reports including those of five auxiliary societies there are eight historical papers: President Lincoln as a War Statesman, by Arthur L. Conger; New Light on the Career of Nathaniel Pryor, by Joseph B. Thoburn; Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary, by Chrysostom Verwyst; The Beginning of the Norwegian Press in America, by Albert Olaus Barton; The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy; by William C. Cochran; Mary Elizabeth Mears: "Nellie Wildwood," by Publius V. Lawson; the Watertown Railway Bond Fight, by William F. Whyte; and Brevet Major Isaac N. Earl: A Noted Scout of the Department of the Gulf, by Newton N. Culver.

Indiana University Register of Graduates 1830-1916. Published by the University, Bloomington, 1917. pp. 359.

This is the sixth edition of the *Register*, the other editions appearing in 1897, 1899, 1901, 1904 and 1911. Many of the

old catalogs, however, contain lists of all previous graduates. The alumni are given by classes, then by location, and finally in alphabetical order with class numerals. The university has conferred degrees on 6108 different persons of whom 5243 are reported living.

Special Report of State Board of Accounts of Indiana Information for the Public Concerning the Examination and Investigation of Public Offices, By GILBERT H. HENDREN, State Examiner, Indianapolis, 1917 ; pp. 57, paper.

This is a general statement of the scope, work and methods of the board. Last year it secured the return of approximately \$237,000 to the public funds. The total expense of the board was about \$162,000; this of course is only a trifle in comparison with what it saved by prevention. So drastic is the law under which it operates and so carefully is the work of auditing performed that grafting is almost impossible in the public offices of the State.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Indiana Village for Epileptics at Newcastle for the period ending Sept. 30, 1916. By W. C. VAN NUYS, Supt., pp. 48. Paper.

This institution has had a daily average attendance of 218. Only males have been admitted. A separate group of buildings for females is in process of construction. During the year 118 have been admitted; 28 discharged as unimproved; 22 have died. Statistical tables are included showing age, nativity, color, education, alleged causes of disease, previous occupation, location by counties, and per capita cost of inmates.

Report of the Proceedings of the Indiana Horticultural Society for the Year 1916, By M. W. RICHARDS, Secretary-Treasurer, Indianapolis, 1917 ; pp. 467, paper.

The volume contains a report of the 56th annual meeting of the society, held November 14-18, 1916, at West Baden; also the proceedings of the State Board of Horticulture for the year and a number of other papers and addresses. Among the

latter is a paper by E. Y. Teas, a charter member of the Society, entitled Personal Reminiscences of Early Indiana Horticulture. Another paper of historical quality is a Biography of Johnny Applesseed by E. R. Smith. The volume is beautifully illustrated.

Register of Officers, 1865-1916, and Alumni, 1875-1915, of Purdue University, Lafayette, 1917; pp. 167, paper.

This is the fifth *Register* of the Purdue alumni; the first appeared in 1896, the second in 1901, the third in 1907, the fourth in 1912. The first part of the *Register* is an alphabetical list of officers and instructors. Then follows a list of alumni similarly arranged. Next are the alumni by classes and lastly by locality. The total number of baccalaureate degrees conferred is 5,043, of which 426 are for Agriculture, 61 for Chemical Engineering, 923 for Civil Engineering, 1,087 for Electrical Engineering, 1,088 for Mechanical Engineering, 802 for Pharmacy, 656 for Science.

THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its meeting at Indianapolis, December 27, 1917, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, Mr. and Mrs. JOHN H. HOLLIDAY have recently given their beautiful country home and many surrounding acres to the City of Indianapolis, to be used in perpetuity for park purposes;

Whereas, The Indiana Historical Society recognizes in said act not only a great and generous gift to their immediate community, but an epoch-making event that should be noted by the entire State, Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of the Indiana Historical Society hereby express to Mr. and Mrs. JOHN H. HOLLIDAY their sincere gratitude for this most generous gift, and also acknowledge their deep appreciation of those noble qualities of mind and heart which made such gift possible. Be it further

Resolved, That coming as it did at the time of celebrating Indiana's first Centennial, the gift of Holliday Park stands out as a high tower with beacon light, marking the century closed, and the one just entered. As soft light glows upon the past,

as our pioneers of 1800 pass in review, and a broader light shines for Indiana's future, the park which bears their name will be a blessing and a benefit to all coming generations. May Mr. and Mrs. Holliday have the gratification of knowing that their names are indelibly written into the history of Indiana, as most generous citizens and true benefactors of our commonwealth.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY; that they be spread upon the minutes of the INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and that a copy be sent to Mr. and Mrs. Holliday.

Sarah Fletcher Wagner,
Frank B. Wynn,
H. U. Patton,

—Committee.

THE *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for October has interesting material on the life of John Rogers, the sculptor, and a sketch of old Salem and vicinity, especially Hawthorne.

THE second number of the *Michigan History Magazine*—October, 1917—has several articles of interest to Indiana readers, Washington Gardner's Civil War Letters; Supt. A. N. Cody's Teaching Michigan History in the Public Schools; Byron Finney's Will Carleton, Michigan's Poet; and John Fitzgibbon's Government Survey and Charting the Great Lakes.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October has an article by Ivan Pollock on the Iowa War Loan of 1861 and one by Frank E. Horack on the Legislation of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly.

THE *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for September, 1917, has as its leading article a paper by George B. Jackson on John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District—that is Tennessee and Kentucky—after the Proclamation of 1763. The paper covers the period of the early migration to Kentucky and Tennessee and hence is of great value. It was written as a Master's thesis in Vanderbilt University under Professor Sioussat.

THE *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1917, has the following articles: Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850, by R. P. Brooks; A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, by Cardinal Goodwin; the Beginnings of British West Florida, by Clarence E. Carter; and Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, by Dan E. Clark.

THE *American Historical Review* for January, 1918, has President W. C. Ford's address to the American Historical Association on the Editorial Function in United States History. Another timely article is by James G. Randall on the Newspaper Problem in its Bearing on Military Secrecy during the Civil War.

The History Teacher's Magazine for January 1918 contains a Topical Outline of the Great War, by Prof. S. B. Harding. This is an invaluable syllabus for teachers presenting work in this field. It can be had in pamphlet form from the above Magazine at Philadelphia.

In the same issue are America's Debt to England, by Lucius B. Swift of Indianapolis and The War and the Teaching of War, by Howard C. Hill, formerly of Indiana, now of the University of Chicago high school.

THE *Journal of History*, published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, contains articles on Voices and Visions of yesterday (relating to the revelations of Joseph Smith); Polygamy from an Official Standpoint; Loyalty of the Saints; and the Keokuk Dam.

THE *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, published by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania made its initial appearance January, 1918. It is a quarterly of about 60 pages, of neat appearance and well edited. The leading article is the Journal or Commonplace Book of John Taylor, one of the pioneer preachers and teachers of Pittsburg. The delightful poem, The Boatman's Horn, by Gen. William O. Butler, is reprinted. There is certainly an ample field for the quarterly, and our best wishes are for its prosperity.

The January number of the *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly* is a war number. Besides an extended review of the war activities of the University there is an article on How Germany Regards Art, by Prof. A. M. Brooks and one on America and the War, by Prof. J. A. Woodburn. There is also a brief biography of John W. Foster, in whose death recently the University lost its most distinguished living alumnus.

THE *Early Life of Professor A. Marshall Elliott*, by Prof. George C. Keidel, is a pamphlet of 10 pages containing a brief biography of the noted Romance scholar and teacher at Johns Hopkins University.

THE *Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire* is the title of a 20 page pamphlet by Prof. Wilbur H. Siebert, of Ohio State University.

THE *Exercise of the Veto Power in Nebraska*, by Knute Emil Carlson, is a master's thesis in the University of Nebraska. The author has traced the rapid growth of the veto power in State constitutions after the Revolution; its use in particular by the governors of Nebraska and the growth of the item veto. This is the first joint publication of the Nebraska Historical Society and the Legislative Bureau. It is a pamphlet of 105 pages.

By the favor of Mrs. Benjamin D. Wolcott, vice-regent for Indiana, the Survey is in receipt of the *Annual Report of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union for 1917*. This organization in 1859 raised \$200,000 by popular subscription and purchased Mount Vernon. Their purpose is to preserve the estate as nearly like it was in the time of Washington as possible.

THE *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* for October has a description of the Whitley house, the first brick residence erected in Kentucky. It dates from 1783. Mrs. Henry A. Beck, of Indianapolis, is State Regent of the Daughters in Indiana and Miss Emma Donnell, of Greensburg, is vice-regent.

THE *Missouri Historical Review* of January, 1918, has an article by H. A. Trexler on the Missouri-Montana Highways; a continuation of Gootfried Duden's Report; and a brief biography of George Creel.

OUR EXCHANGES

THE SURVEY has in binding the files of its Indiana exchanges. It is the purpose of the SURVEY to preserve, if possible, the files of at least one newspaper from each county in the State. Opportunity is here taken to thank the publishers of these exchanges for their assistance. All historical writers are fast realizing that the historians of the future as well as those of the present will have to depend largely on the newspapers for their material.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized December 11, 1830

"The objects of this society shall be the collection and preservation of all materials calculated to shed light on the natural, civil, and political history of Indiana."

This society was organized by the leading men of our State. The following were the first officers:

Benjamin Parke, president; Isaac Blackford, first vice-president; Jesse L. Holman, second vice-president; James Scott, third vice-president; John Farnham, corresponding secretary; Bethuel F. Morris, recording secretary; James Blake, George H. Dunn, Isaac Howk, James Whitcomb and John Law, executive committee.

In the early days its annual meetings were one of the great occasions of the winter at the State capital. Among its early members were eight governors, all the judges of the supreme and federal courts, most of the circuit judges, a majority of the U. S. senators and congressmen and other leading men of the State. The annual address was usually given by one of the great men of the nation.

The society has never had a building to house its collections nor adequate funds to publish its papers. Its membership fee has been one dollar per year until quite recently when it was raised to two. One dollar of this fee goes to the Indiana Magazine of History which is sent free to all members. A small donation is made annually by the State. It has never received but one gift or endowment. This was made by Hon. William H. English, its former president and one of the distinguished historians of the State.

The Society should have an income of \$5,000 per year. Indiana has at least 5,000 men and women who are interested in the State's history; and it is thought that if the matter were brought to their attention they would help in the work. The membership fee is not a gift. The Society sends its publications free to its members. These will cost on an average \$1 per year. It also sends the Indiana Magazine of History, of which it is a joint publisher, free. The price of the Magazine itself is the same as the entire membership fee.

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No. 2

Some Reminiscences of James Whitcomb Riley

BY GEORGE S. COTTMAN

The sincere and universal deference paid to James Whitcomb Riley at the time of his death and the extraordinary tributes extended to him while he still lived, are of passing wonder. It is a study in character, in moral effects and in the psychology of the masses. The spirit that distinguished Mr. Riley was exactly the reverse of that by which men seek prominence and popularity. The theoretical virtues of simple kindliness, hearty good will and avoidance of self-glory he put into practice, and mankind paid him in full, revealing that deep down in the human heart exists appreciation of those virtues.

A little incident, here published for the first time, illustrates notably one side of Mr. Riley's character. One day a good many years ago, prior to one of the meetings of the Western Association of Writers, which met annually at Winona Lake, and in which we were both interested, I chanced to meet the poet in the Bowen-Merrill book store, where he was wont to loiter. The conversation turned on sundry mutual friends who attended the literary meetings, among them Benjamin S. Parker, of Newcastle. Mr. Parker, a faithful servitor of the muse, whose talent for worldly success was nil, had confided to me that he would be unable to attend Winona that year on account of the expense. This I casually mentioned to Mr. Riley, and he at once evolved a happy plan. That was that I, as

an official of the organization, should invite Mr. Parker to be its guest, he (Mr. Riley) to pay through me, *sub rosa*, the railroad fare and the hotel bill for the week.

My memory of this is freshened by a letter of Mr. Riley's which, under date of June 19, 1898, reads:

Dear Friend COTTMAN—Your thoughtful favor regarding our dear old friend finds me yours to command, but you have overlooked informing me of amount needed for the transportation, or I would enclose same. Therefore, can't you arrange at once to meet me at Bowen-Merrill's, as I'll now be there every morning, or can be there any hour you would prefer and notify me by message in their care.

Gratefully and fraternally yours,

J. W. RILEY.

The scheme went through, but came near being amusingly embarrassing, as the recipient of the courtesy was grateful, the association knew nothing about it and I was enjoined from telling anybody. It was not until long after that Mr. Parker knew how he came to be invited to the literary love feast that year.

Mr. Riley's attitude toward the above literary association as contrasted with that of some critics whose views were more nice than broad, was also a revelation of the man. There is no gainsaying that at those gatherings much very crude verse and much equally crude prose was spilled out on the desert air in the name of letters. The review of Indiana literature that ranks highest does not deign to recognize the existence of the said Western Association of Writers; others did recognize it as a mutual admiration society; a professional space-filling humorist of Chicago dubbed it the Literary Gravel Pit Association, and made dollars out of it whenever it had a session, and one journalistic censor of local repute, after accepting a place on its program and entering into its fellowship with apparent relish one year, dished up a column of supercilious diatribe by way of rebuke to aspiring small potatoes.

Riley, who was a member of the association, seemingly did not share these critical feelings in the least. Had the membership been of poets and literati of his own caliber he could not have evinced a more hearty sympathy and fellowship. In a word, amid these literary crudities as amid the crudities of the life that he wrought into literature, he penetrated to

fundamentals and caught the spirit and meaning. The kindred souls who joyously flocked together in the name of literature represented a distinct movement away from sordid things and were the first to create in Indiana anything that could be called a literary atmosphere. As compared with this, I believe, the sometime painful limpings of the muse affected Mr. Riley not one whit. Here as elsewhere he was kindly and charitable.

Of course, Riley, when he attended these meetings, was always the center of attraction, not alone because of his fame, but because of his fascinating and unique personality and of his genius as an entertainer. He and John Clark Ridpath loved to hobnob and made an admirable pair.

One of these Winona gems was resurrected by Booth Tarkington in a fugitive article some years ago. Its incentive was the park barber, whose fair daughter was popular among the tonsorial artist's customers. In a moment of inspiration, after a visit to the shop, Riley thus paraphrased Tennyson:

It is the barber's daughter,
And she has grown so dear, so dear.
I worship e'en the lather
Her pa leaves in my ear.

One of the W. A. W. meetings was made especially memorable by the attendance of both Riley and Robert J. Burdette, the latter then in his full fame as a humorist. The contrast between the two men as mirth provokers was interesting to note. Burdette, genial as the sunlight, rollicked in fun with the abandon of a happy boy, and with as little regard for probability. On the other hand, back of all Riley's whimsical conceits lay a semblance of verity that made the humor of them indescribably penetrating. If Burdette was a genuine humorist, bubbling over like a living spring, Riley was simply *sui generis*. The essential difference between them is, perhaps, well illustrated by this.

One day the two wags sat on a piazza of the hotel, the center, as usual, of an interested group, when the talk turned on the experiences of the entertainer as he barnstormed among the rural towns. It took the form of an impromptu narrative to which first one and then the other contributed as the story

gambled along. The point to be made is that, while Burdette's contribution to this offhand collaboration was characteristically funny, I can not today remember a word of it. On the contrary, what Riley said and how he said it—his dry drollery and the pictures he called up before one—are indelibly impressed on my mind. He may or may not, before or since, have let his fancy run along the same groove; but, so far as I know, quite lost to literature is the moving tale of the visiting celebrity who is met at the railroad station by the leading citizen and carried off to his home. The relation of host and guest in the interim before the "show" is mutually embarrassing, the former being ill at ease in the presence of greatness and the latter being generally miserable with overtravel, loss of rest and cinders in the ears, besides the consciousness that he has only so long in which to feed, curry himself, get into a dress suit and look pleasant preparatory to the evening's performance.

The divine tact of woman comes to the fore. In the midst of the citizen's ponderous attempts at conversation the good wife thinks of the rehabilitation which even great men have to undergo, and at her suggestion the guest is shown into the "company" bedroom with its big porcelain bowl and pitcher—the latter empty, of course. He delicately hints for water and the host with cheerful alacrity, but embarrassed at his own oversight, brings in from the rain barrel a supply of last month's vintage well stocked with wiggle tails and with a smell all its own. The unhappy guest, not wishing to be intrusive, further suggests a towel. The towel is brought with apologies. Then some one thinks of soap—there is a fleeting glimpse in the dusk of the citizen scuttling groceryward, and in due time he takes the center of the scene again, having captured a cake of fancy soap of the door-knob variety—the kind that gets slicker and harder the more you rub it. One window of the room opens to the street so the passersby can look in and be friendly. The guest tries to draw the blind. It is one of these skyrocket blinds, and with an upward z-z-ipp, the whole thing mysteriously disappears. ("I never did understand what became of these curtains," commented Riley). The donning of the dress suit not being intended as part of the public enter-

tainment, the guest scrooges back into the corner that promises most privacy, but just as he is waving his arms aloft with the immaculate dress shirt over his head, a bunch outside take it for some sort of a playful signal and crowd up to the window for a better view, "Ah, ha. Come out o' that—you needn't try to hide—we see you", carol sundry gay and friendly voices. They don't know it's "company" till the leading citizen goes round the house and explains.

Here the improvised reminiscences evaporated, the gist of the merit being the inimitable Riley flavor that went with the improvisation.

Mr. Riley had his little literary animosities that were sometimes ludicrous in their ferocity. He could not, for instance, tolerate Browning or Walt Whitman as poets, and on one occasion when these were defended he expressed his scorn of both with characteristic pith. Browning's intellectual subtleties were, evidently, quite foreign to Riley's mental processes. "To think," he commented, "of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, a real poet, living with that man year after year and having to listen to the things he wrote."

On the other hand, if his critical judgment failed on certain sides it was broad and penetrating on others, as the following letter shows. The verses in question were a fugitive poem attributed to Tennyson, but not to be found in the great poet's works. It was called "The Skylark," and while it obviously took its cue from Shelley's famous poem it showed the touch of a master hand and a truly Tennysonian warmth and imagery as if even he, in an idle moment, might have experimented with the theme. The first stanza ran:

How the blithe lark runs up the golden stair
That leans through cloudy gates from heaven to earth,
And all alone in the empyreal air,
Fills it with jubilant sweet sounds of mirth;
How far he seems, how far
With the light upon his wings
Is it a bird or star
That shines and sings?

This rather unusual poem is certainly not widely known.

I introduced Mr. Riley to it and received in return the following critique:

Dear Friend: "The Skylark" (signed Tennyson) is certainly a poem, but not one that Alfred Tennyson would write. But for Shelley's "Skylark," obviously, this one had not been written—which fact, singly clears the master poet—at least to my mind. It is a poem and a fine poem for precisely the same reasons first and originally found and established by Shelley's. Indeed it seems, to the subscriber, an almost avowed imitation, yet by a poet who recognizes its secondary worth as compared with the divine inspiration of Shelley's poem. Possibly the credit to Tennyson is a printer's error, or might it be the work of a Tennyson brother? In any event it is not Alfred's. Find poem herewith returned. With all thanks, your old fraternal

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

Riley was an ardent admirer of Richard Realf, the author of "Indirection" and a number of other remarkable poems not so famous. Before Richard J. Hinton published his Realf volume, I collected and printed in a little brochure a few of the best of the poems that were floating around, and it was to this booklet the following letter refers:

Dear Friend: Can you supply me with one more copy of your Realf poems? In spite of all my care and vigilance the last copy you gave me has utterly vanished as "the snows of yesteryear." . . . Herewith I hasten the Realf portrait to you . . . Can't you arrange with some good artist for a reproduction of it? I count it a privilege to meet all expenses of same. The picture is one our entire fraternity would rejoice in possessing copies of.

My first acquaintance with Mr. Riley was in 1879. At that time he was an amateur actor in the Greenfield Dramatic Club. I harbored the fond delusion that I was foreordained to be a writer of plays and the happy idea occurred to me that a combination might effect a short cut to fame for both of us. Therefore, I inflicted on him the manuscript of a comedy which, though it failed of its original purpose, paved the way to some very cordial letters which to the present day repose among my valued relics. At least one of these letters is so characteristic of the Riley of that day that I quote it in part. The sense of irksomeness, I think, was due to the fact that he had been trying to come into harness after the long Bohemian freedom of youth:

Not long ago my time was wholly mine; now it has passed like the generality of blessed privileges. . . . In fact I'm growing stale and sour, and feel sometimes—Ave Maria!—like shutting myself up like a Chinese lantern, or a concertina, which is more poetical and “passing”; for at best I but jog through the world like poor Chispa, “half the time on foot and the other half walking.”

In this letter he is much distressed by the discovery that part of the aforementioned play had been lost:

I have not written to you before because—because—and here I shudder, but will confess the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Mr. Black, to whom I told you I had given your Mss., dropped in upon me night before last to leave a letter for you and to confer the (here is inserted an awful zigzag line) intelligence that he had lost the fourth act of your play—! If you occupy this blank I warn you now that you will find it haunted with some very vicious ghosts. Better take a clean page of your own and do it right! . . . I enclose Mr. B.'s letter.

I haven't the heart to read it, for if he criticised you as heartlessly as he does me, God help you. . . . On an average I am in the city once a week and would have been out today but for the hanging [one of those legal pleasantries had been scheduled in Indianapolis for that day]. There is no demon in all hell's brotherhood that inspires in my breast the fearful awe that seizes on me when I realize the fact that the red-eyed law stalks through the world at large.

As I recall my first and my last personal impressions of Mr. Riley I am struck by the contrast. Soon after the correspondence above referred to he hunted me up at my place of work in the old *Sentinel* printing office and we passed what was to me a very pleasant half hour. He was then thirty years old—an age at which most men know about what their status in life is going to be, but his future was as indefinite to him as though he were just emerging from boyhood, albeit he was then receiving local recognition as a prodigy. He looked rural to a degree, and the first impression was of the oddness of his appearance, his prominent eyes set in the midst of the blondest of complexions, a wine-colored overcoat rather the worse for wear and faded about the lapels, a slouch felt hat of uncertain fashion and accessories of like ilk, making a combination not easily imagined by those who knew him only in his immaculate after years, when his scrupulous taste in dress was notable. In conversation his glance was all forward and the questions

of the present all bore upon the uncertainties of his future. His preferred theme was a personal one, but pursued with such youthful naivete that no one would think of calling it egotism in the ordinary sense of the term. On the contrary, it was so individual that it gave a piquant flavor to the discourse.

It seemed that good friends, with the best of intentions, no doubt, seeing in him a man of promise, had gratuitously assumed the role of literary sponsors. These freely told him what they thought was bad in his poetry, and he mildly resented the failure to recognize that he, too, was entitled to some judgment in the matter. I recall, also, something like scorn for the professional elocutionist and for those who thought he ought to improve his talent by taking lessons. To this day, when I am so unfortunate as to have to hear one of these professional readers do a Riley stunt in the cut and dried style, I feel a consuming desire to give him a glimpse of Riley's little think at the beginning of his phenomenal platform career.

All this was a little more than thirty-seven years ago. Just six days before the unexpected messenger came I spent a quiet evening with the poet in his pleasant Lockerbie street home. Thirty-seven years had wrought changes. At yon end was a raw genius just being welcomed by the world; at this the finished product after a kindly world had done its best. Having worked out his mission on his own chosen lines he was not only laden with honors and a universal respect such as fall to few men, but had abundantly reaped the substantial rewards of life. The room where he received his friends was a nest of culture with its laden bookcases lining the walls, its touches of art, its graceful tokens of friendship, and the center and culmination of this setting of elegance and taste was the poet himself, attired from head to foot with a scrupulous neatness that was in itself an art. The unique personality of old, with all of its flavor that can only be described as "Rileyesque," remained unimpaired, but in place of the hint of verdancy and the uncertainty of one with the nuts of life yet to crack, experience had wrought into him a poise, a large centrality, call it what you will, that seemed too perfect for any mundane thing to disturb.

His glance now was all backward and he preferred to browse discursively in the old fields, recalling this or that vanished figure that had left its impress on his past, particularly the local literati that haunted the sanctums of the long since defunct Indianapolis *Herald* and *Journal*. He spoke of his whim of coupling up certain of these characters, for some obscure reason, with his earlier literary idols. For example, George Harding, editor of the *Herald*, was Charles Lamb; Charles M. Walker, of the *Journal*, was Leigh Hunt, and so forth. He said that since his paralytic stroke of some years ago had left his right hand disabled he had virtually ceased literary production because it was temperamentally impossible for him to dictate or compose in the presence of another person. Before the paralysis his favorite time for composing was the late night hours after others had retired and there was no longer probability of disturbance. The composing process, as he described it, was exceedingly slow and painstaking. He would write and rewrite, destroying completely each unsatisfactory effort and beginning anew, and many times, he assured me, he was surprised by the gray dawn creeping in at the windows, with at most a few lines accomplished. His last words at the close of this visit, and the last I ever heard him utter, were a cheery "Come again, I'm obliged to you for a pleasant evening," whereby, with characteristic grace and courtesy, he reversed the obligation.

The world was certainly good to James Whitcomb Riley—so good, indeed, by comparison with the lot of most men, that the gods seemed bent upon an amiable experiment to see how it would work. It worked well. It seemed to work automatically, for Riley appreciated and out of his genius repaid the world in kindness. The world appreciated and proved itself reciprocal to the heart that is filled with a universal kindness. Riley, like the rest of us, had his repulsions, and at times these amounted to animosities, but they were at a minimum and they were not obvious. It seemed to be a settled habit with him to say very little about a man unless he could say something friendly and approving, and the number that came within this category were legion.

A Historical Sketch of Tell City, Indiana

By WILL MAURER.

During the last half of the preceding century, when immigrants from central Europe were discovering America as a land of industrial promise and political freedom, there were organized in the United States various societies which encouraged immigration and materially aided the immigrant in finding a homestead and securing a livelihood in the new country. One of the wealthiest and most influential of these organizations in the Middle West was the Swiss Colonization Society (Schweizer Ansiedlungsverein) of Cincinnati. As the name obviously implies its founders were Swiss Americans, although later the membership became largely German, who united for the purpose of encouraging and aiding the immigration of their countrymen to America.

The Swiss Colonization Society was organized on January 10, 1857. According to the terms of the constitution, membership was on the basis of shares; each fifteen dollar share entitled the holder to two city lots or one garden lot in a town, which was to be founded as soon as a suitable site could be secured. From the beginning the organization was very active in the search for a tract of land suitable for the settlement. The officers of the society carried on an extensive correspondence for this purpose and were soon in communication with the governors in most of the Middle Western States. Letters were also written to various land offices, to Swiss consuls in the United States, to the president of the Illinois Central Railroad and to prominent German Americans, such as Frederick Muench.

A Land Commission was appointed, whose duties were to be the examination of land which might prove suitable for the purposes of the Colonization Society. On May 7, 1857, a letter of instruction was sent to Mr. G. Liver, chairman of the com-

*A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Indiana University as a part of the requirement for the degree Master of Arts.

mission, outlining the duties of that body, and describing exactly what kind of land was desired. The communication stated that the commission was to be given free rein in the selection of lands. It was not, however, to negotiate for the purchase of lands, without the express approval of the central government of the society. Furthermore, "the commission is not to go further north than 43 latitude and is to keep in mind for purchase an area of at least 10,000 acres. The commission is to make allowance for approximately 6,000 town shares (town lots) and 1,000 garden shares (lots) ———. The commission has a cash capital of \$70,000-\$80,000 at its disposal, and the central government wishes if possible to buy farmland for \$20,000-\$30,000 on credit. The society will buy only farmland on credit ———. The commission is to make the object of its mission public, as far as possible. The commission is to tour the States, Illinois, Missouri and Iowa, as well as the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In inspecting lands, the commission is to bear in mind the following points: healthful climate, fertile soil, good water, timber, stone, situation on a navigable river and if possible on a railroad ———. The site must have a good landing place and must adjoin the river for at least two miles. If, in regard to a river, it is a question of the eastern or western side, the latter is to be preferred ———. Mr. Liver, of Milwaukee, will act as president of the commission and Dr. Zwinger, of Pittsburg, as treasurer."

We see from the records of the society that this committee was soon making trips of inspection throughout the states of the Middle West. Regions as far west as the foot hills of the Rockies, the "Switzerland of America," were considered. Missouri seemed especially favorable and attractive to the members of the society, "though Missouri is a slave holding state, and *none* of our colony would ever forget the sacred principles of Republicanism so far as to make use of such a privilege."*

By June, 1857, the Land Commission was ready to begin negotiations for a tract of land in Missouri, but while the organization was deliberating over the purchase of this land,

*From a letter to the Hon. F. P. Blair, St. Louis, January 18, 1857.

there came to its notice a tract in Indiana. The following letter records the first official action in regard to that land.

CINCINNATI, June 9, 1857

A. G. SELMAN, Esq., Shelbyville, Indiana.

Dear Sir:

Your esteemed favor of the 30th ult. has been duly received and its contents have been carefully examined by the Board of Directors of the Swiss Colonization Society.

You have, however, not stated in your letter, what the price would be, and we should also like to know, *whether the landing* is good. Please give the necessary information about these two points, and we shall then see what we can do.

I should be obliged to you, if you would send us an answer by return of mail. If you have maps of the land, you may also send us one.

Very Respectfully,

JOHN EGGERS

Recording Sec. of Swiss Col. Soc.

A week later Mr. Selman was informed "that the Board of Directors of the Swiss Colonization Society passed a resolution last night (June 15) to buy a tract of land on the Missouri River which was offered some time ago." But this action on the part of the board was not final, although it would seem so, for the Missouri land was not purchased,—probably because it was not all in one piece.

About the middle of July, Messrs. Oehlmann, Rebstock and Tuffli were sent to Perry county as representatives of the society to inspect the land which Mr. Selman was offering. They returned in ten days with a favorable report, and Mr. Selman was invited to Cincinnati "in order to give further information about the land." The tract under consideration was situated two miles below the town of Cannelton and comprised 20,000 acres, 4,000 of which lay along the Ohio River. The land was reputed to be fertile and rich in minerals.* The society wanted even more land than was offered, and on July 31 wrote to the government land office at Vincennes to find out if there was any suitable "congress land" available in Perry county.

Early in August the Swiss Colonization Society informed Selman that it was ready to close the deal with him and the

*Letter to Mr. C. W. Lange, Lexington, Ky., June 29, 1857.

Hon. Ballard Smith, his partner in the transaction. But a long delay ensued before the sale was consummated. There seemed to be great difficulty in clearing the titles to the land and the board of the society evidently gave up hopes of making the Perry county purchase, for in October a Land Commission was again sent to Missouri. In a letter of November 4 the Board urgently asked Mr. Selman and Judge Elisha M. Huntington, a Perry county land holder, if they could not furnish a clear title to a single tract of 4,000 acres by January 1. An early reply from Judge Huntington assured the board that such could be secured, and during the next few months the following lands were bought by the Colonization Society through its agents: Elisha M. Huntington, 398 acres, for \$15,920; Marshall Key, 302 acres for \$12,080; John James, 74 acres for \$3,750; Charles Limberick, 40 acres for \$600; Pacob Dewitt, 160 acres for \$2,500; Nimrod Latimer, 22 acres for \$264; Edwin Morris, 40 acres for \$1,000; George W. Butler, 74 acres for \$3,700; Benjamin Persinger, 200 acres for \$10,000; Abel Butler, 270 acres for \$5,500; Samuel E. Webb, 200 acres for \$3,600; Eli Thrasher, 120 acres for \$2,400; J. B. Huckaby, 40 acres for \$430; Fred H. Oelschlaeger, 212 acres for \$3,000; H. P. Brazee, 200 acres for \$5,000; John Turner, 120 acres for \$1,435; William Butler, 200 acres, for \$3,100; Ballard Smith, 480 acres for \$5,700; Homer Hull, 80 acres for \$1,000; Nancy Field, 40 acres for \$250; A. G. Selman, 800 acres for \$3,200; William Butler, 80 acres for \$1,000. In all 4,152 acres were bought costing \$85,429. The purchase of this land in Indiana was opposed by some of the branch societies of the Swiss Colonization Society and many members withdrew. This did not disconcert the remaining members, since the Perry county tract would probably not have supplied land sufficient for the original membership.

In January, 1858, Mr. Louis Frey, the agent of the Swiss Colonization Society, was sent to Cannelton to attend to the preliminary work connected with the founding of the proposed town. At the same time the county recorder was informed "of the purchase of a tract of land in your county, upon which a new town, Tell City, will soon be laid out." The board furthermore asked the advice of the recorder in the prepara-

tion of deeds, etc. A short time after this, the society's engineer, Mr. August Pfaefflin, began the work of surveying the land and laying out the town, of which 7,328 town lots and 974 garden lots were laid out.

In the official plan for colonization these lots were thus described. The size of the city lots in 200 blocks is fixed as follows:

(a) In the best located sections of the city at forty feet front and one hundred forty feet deep.

(b) In the middle section of the town at forty-eight feet front and one hundred forty feet deep.

(c) In the outlying sections of the city at sixty feet front and one hundred forty feet deep.

The corner lots of each block are only seventy feet deep. The garden lots shall be, like the city lots, divided according to their location and distance, into three classes, of which those lying nearest the own site shall be laid out at five-sixths of an acre, those more distant from the town site at one and one-ninth acres, those furthest removed at one and two-thirds acres. The lots of the last class may, if necessary, be laid out beyond the corporation line.

Mr. Pfaefflin was also instructed to prepare a map of the town, which would be necessary for the assignment of the lots. In addition to other duties, Mr. Frey and the engineer were to examine land in the vicinity, with the view of purchasing it for farmlands; since it seemed that there was a greater demand among the prospective settlers for farmland than for town lots. More land was bought, but there was a great deal of delay in negotiating the purchase, due to the failure of some of the directors, who did not reside in Cincinnati, to vote on the matter. Because of this, Mr. Frey was advised by the secretary to attend to pressing business in the future without waiting for the approval of the directors. Early in February the society already had in its possession 2,710 acres for the town site and 6,000 acres (for some of which it merely held options) of farm and garden lands.

Since town lots were to be apportioned by lot, the colonization plan provided that a number should be reserved and given to first settlers in exchange for lots which were not

suitable for building. Whether or not a lot was capable of improvement was to be determined by a committee of three, one member chosen by the lot owner, a second by the society or its representative, and the third by both parties concerned. This matter of improveable and non-improveable lots later caused a great deal of confusion and dissension. However, each shareholder was not to be permitted thus to exchange more than one lot and he must furthermore within one year of his arrival erect a brick or frame house, worth not less than \$125. The society was to provide each settler with enough building material for a one-story, two room house, the amount for it to be paid in three yearly payments. Owners of garden lots might buy an additional tract of gardenland, not to exceed three and one-third acres. The terms for the purchase of farmland were: one-third cash, one-third in three years and one-third in six years.

Lots were distributed in March, 1858, in which month the first settlers began to arrive. The society placed all vacant buildings at the disposal of the newcomers, but they came in such numbers, that many were forced to live in the open for a time while a great many had to leave for want of homes.* In a few weeks there were one hundred families in the town.

Communications from Mr. Frey, during the month of April, present a vivid and interesting picture of that busy time. The agent lamented the fact that many settlers had no place to stay; that they must build but find that their lots were not yet surveyed. He reported that a great number of lots were so situated that during the first year no three out of ten would be suitable for building purposes, because they lay deep in the forest! In reply to questions and reproach, Mr. Frey said the work had not progressed more rapidly because of shortage of labor and building materials; furthermore, the town had been laid out "zu groszartig" and the work accomplished was hardly noticeable compared with the work to be done. By the end of April three of ten houses which the society had planned to build were completed and were occupied by six families. Twenty-one houses at that time had been started by settlers. The only passable road was the Plank road (which has been superseded by the alley between

*From a letter by Secretary Eggers, April 14, 1858.

Main and Ninth streets) and around this crude street business was already concentrating.

During the first months Mr. Frey labored strenuously. He occupied the precarious position of buffer between the worried settlers and the impatient directors of the Colonization Society. He adjusted many matters that were but vaguely defined in the plans of the organization, and proceeded on his own initiative at times when the delay necessary for an official action of the society would have meant loss to the settlement. One such occasion arose with regard to the "reserve lots," those lots, which were given for lots not suitable for building. Frey found the two hundred reserve lots to be scattered about in almost inaccessible sections of the settlement, and turned over to settlers lots situated along the Plank road. Due in part to such actions, there developed among some of the directors a strong dislike for Frey. They maintained that he, as well as Pfaefflin, the engineer, was not discharging his duties as promptly and efficiently as he should; it seems, however, that the distant officials merely failed to comprehend the task of the man who was supervising the building of a town.

A distressing shortage of funds was not the least of the problems which confronted the pioneers. At times the workmen were paid scarcely more than enough to defray necessary expenses, and in the absence of cash they were paid in orders on the grocery stores. Finally, Frey asked for authority to dismiss unmarried workmen, if the treasurer of the society were unable to raise necessary monies.* About the middle of July, 1858, all workmen who were not actual settlers were dismissed. This action is reported as having called forth dissatisfaction. In a letter of August 9, the agent urgently requests a remittance of \$600, "since the workmen have received no pay for more than a month."

In spite of these various handicaps the building of Tell City and even the improvement of its streets progressed steadily, and the end of August found a town of 1,156 souls. The report of the president of the Swiss Colonization Society to the Convention at Tell City, in September, 1858, stated that there were in the settlement 262 dwelling houses, valued

*Letters by Mr. Frey, June 12 and 13, 1858.

at more than \$40,000. The president found the great extent of the settlement to be a disadvantage since it was easy to see the remoter garden lots must remain for years dead capital for the owners, because they were too far away for gardens and too small for farms. He therefore recommended that they be bought back and be sold again in larger sections.

The most important action of the Convention of 1858 was that by which the government of the settlement was transferred from Cincinnati to Tell City. There were in the Swiss Colonization Society two governing bodies, a Board of Directors, and a Board of Control which attended to the details of administration, subject, however, to the Board of Directors. From September, 1858, the Board of Control, still subordinated to the Board of Directors, was situated at Tell City. The Convention further limited the expenditure of the Board of Control to \$800 per month. Although the change secured a prompter and more efficient management of the town, the two boards were at times engaged in bitter wrangles over points and policies of administration.

An official letter of the Swiss Colonization Society states: "This association is organized more for the common benefit of the poorer class of our countrymen, which consists mostly of intelligent mechanics and farmers." We infer that the "mechanic" element was rather in the majority, for in the planning and organization of the settlement more attention was given to the development and encouragement of industry than to the fostering of agricultural pursuits. The founders of Tell City fully expected it to become an important manufacturing center. It was favorably located and the neighboring lands were said to contain rich coal beds. The enormous scale upon which the town was laid out clearly showed that the village was expected to develop into a thriving metropolis. The streets cut through the tangled forests were conceived as the spacious thoroughfares of a busy city. Those running east and west were seventy feet wide, including the sidewalks, each ten feet in width; those running north and south were eighty feet wide, including sidewalks of twelve feet on each side. Tell City seems always to have taken a great pride in the improvement of its streets, for, about April, 1858,

each society share was assessed five dollars, payable in monthly payments, the revenue to be used for street and other improvements, and the early minutes of the town board, as well as those of the Society's Board of Directors show that much time and money were spent for that purpose. The wide, well-kept streets of the town at present further attest this fact. During the earlier years some of the citizens insisted, perhaps wisely, that too much money was being spent on streets; that it would be more profitable for the town and for share-holders in general to turn the money to the encouragement of industry.

Section 12 of the first colonization plan provided that the society should reserve a stretch of land which should serve as building sites for factories and other large establishments. These sites were to be sold at one dollar per foot, provided they did not exceed a front of one hundred feet. If more than one hundred feet front was desired, every front foot over the one hundred should cost three dollars. A second plan of colonization formulated in September, 1858, authorized that any manufacturing firm, employing more than ten men, should be given a lot of one hundred feet front and the full depth of the block *gratis*. Further, such establishments might borrow from the society from \$500 to \$1,000 for two years at 6 per cent. interest, with satisfactory security. But this amount was not to be paid until the buildings necessary to the undertaking were erected. Although no mention is made of it in the colonization plan, it seems the society would also loan money on the firm's guarantee to employ a certain number of men. The rate was \$500 for every twenty men employed. The society itself did not undertake any manufacturing enterprise, but merely aided and encouraged private undertakings.

From the very first, many firms encouraged by the offers of assistance and the brilliant prospects of Tell City as a future manufacturing center, sought to found establishments in the new town. The first ventures were, as we might expect, saw-mills. A letter of February 4, 1858, shows that two companies, Kraatz and Co. and Herrmann and Co. were contemplating the erection of saw-mills; in the same month

it was resolved to give Herrman and Co. all the trees cut down in the making of the streets. This company began work in May. A shingle factory, which had been granted \$300, began work about the same time. Soon after a brick-yard was opened, and a lime kiln was started about two and a half miles from the town. During the summer many petitions for assistance were laid before the directors of the society. In August Mr. Huthsteiner, one of the earliest pioneers and proprietor of the first hotel, asked to rent some land for a saw-mill. It was decided to rent him the block reserved for a park as a place to erect a portable saw-mill. In September the board sold J. Endebrock a lot of forty feet front and one hundred forty feet depth at one dollar per front foot for the erection of a sash and door factory. A firm which wished to use a lot on the river front for a lumber yard was denied the right, since the Board of Control was of the opinion that valuable lots along the river should be adorned by buildings rather than be made unsightly by yards.

The convention of September found many industrial propositions for its consideration. Messrs. Burggraf and Zins desired a lot free, that they might build a foundry, the first building to cost about \$1,500. This was granted and in addition \$1,000 was placed at the disposal of the company. Pikel and Haufbauer, who also wanted a lot and \$2,000 for the erection of a foundry, were granted their petition. Fred Zirbel was forwarded \$1,000 for the erection of a flour mill, provided he began the building of the same during the coming winter; if not, he was to receive but \$500. Peter Schreck, a brewer, was loaned \$300 at 6% for two years. Huthsteiner and Pfaefflin received \$500 at 6% for the aid of their saw-mill. Various other resolutions similar to the above were passed by the convention. A general resolution provided that all persons receiving lots for manufacturing purposes must build on the same within a half year, unless otherwise provided by contract. Furthermore, those persons receiving lots *gratis* were not to be given deeds until they had kept their concerns in operation for five years; until that time they were to receive warrant deeds.

Through the succeeding months many manufacturing

projects, mostly flour mills, saw-mills and wood-working industries, were organized and discussed. The most important of these was the Tell City Furniture Company, which was organized in the spring of 1859 with a capital of \$50,000. This company has developed into one of the town's most important establishments. The Fischer Chair Company which developed from the firm of Combs, Hartman and Co. (1863) is another of the pioneer industries.

An interesting organization was the Tell City Industrial Society which was founded in October, 1858, by friends of the settlement in St. Louis and Louisville, as well as by citizens of Tell City. Its purpose, as stated in the constitution, was to provide work for the citizens of Tell City and to increase the prosperity of the town and the value of the property by the founding of industrial establishments. The society proposed to found a furniture factory, a factory for wagons, plows, etc., a factory for lasts, pegs and cobblers' supplies and an extensive coopershop, since these plants could use as raw material the timber standing on the Colonization Society lands. Funds were to be raised by the sale of shares at \$10 per share. As soon as two thousand shares should be subscribed, preparation for the first establishment was to be begun. The second was to be started when three thousand shares were taken and the third when four thousand and the fourth when five thousand. Although it aroused considerable enthusiasm and was evidently organized on sound principles, the Tell City Industrial Society seemingly languished away without accomplishing much definite good for the town.

The *Cannelton Reporter* of October 2, 1858, says of its neighbor:

Tell City is a marvel. There is nothing like its history and progress, and it has no precedent. It has now over eleven miles of streets, cut seventy feet wide through the forest; it has 1,500 people and 300 huoses.

Notwithstanding this flattering report, which was, in fact true, the outlook in Tell City was not the brightest. To begin with, the town had been founded at a time when there was a general financial depression throughout the country.*

*From a speech by the Hon. Albert Bettinger, of Cincinnati, delivered at the Indiana Centennial Celebration at Tell City on July 20, 1916.

The letters of Mr. Frey show how difficult it was to secure funds for the execution of the society's plans. This condition hardly improved, for by the summer of 1859 the society paid out very little for the subsidy of industry and there was even difficulty in getting the directors to meet obligations already made. Of course, the individual firms as well as the Swiss Colonization Society were hard pressed, and several establishments did not survive the first difficult months. Tell City's first winter reminds one faintly of the first winter of the Plymouth colony. Prospective settlers were warned that work was scarce and money "tight." Sickness and a flooded Ohio were further discouraging factors and everybody looked forward hopefully to spring. But the hopes were realized only in part. A shoe factory and several other projects seem never to have materialized and during the summer of 1859 many families had to leave Tell City on account of lack of work.

Very little real money circulated during the first years. Each plant kept a commissary department, and the employees were paid in produce, which the factory had received from the farmers in payment for furniture, etc. The workmen were also given orders on the local stores while cash was scarce. One man states that he worked a year before he was paid his first five dollar bill in actual cash. This same man, who, like many other settlers, owned stock in an establishment, drew dividends but three times in thirty years,—and then the dividends were paid in additional stock. Contrary to the opinion of some persons interested in the early industrial organization of the Swiss Colonization Society, the firms were not co-operative, although employees often owned shares. The children of a shareholder were assured a position in the factory for life, or on good behavior. By this provision, opportunity was given boys for learning that particular trade. If necessary, men, not related to share-holders, were employed, but stock holders and their families were preferred, and were paid better wages. Wages, even if not paid in cash, were good.

The town had scarcely time to recover from the depression of the earlier years before the dark financial clouds of

the Civil war enshrouded its industries and manufactures. During these dark days employees, even men with families, received as little as fifty cents a week in cash. After the war, however, Tell City industry began to flourish and the town showed evidences of fulfilling all that the founders expected of it. In the years immediately following the war some of the strongest firms, most of which still survive, were founded. In this group are the Southwestern Furniture Co., The Chair Makers' Union, The Tell City Planing Mill and the Herrmann Bros. Wagon Co. Probably the most luckless of the Tell City enterprises was the Agricultural Machine Co. The financial tribulations of this company occupy much space in the proceedings of the Colonization Society. Its original purpose was chiefly the manufacture of hay presses. These sold to the South for cotton presses, in which capacity they did not prove very satisfactory. Later the firm manufactured stoves, which also were not successful. In 1869 the "Alligator" factory, as it was dubbed by the citizens, was bought by an Indianapolis company, which started the Cabinet Makers' Union, now one of the town's chief establishments. The youngest of the important manufactories is the Tell City Desk Co., organized in 1890.

The various furniture factories made common grades of furniture, and their large output was sold mostly to the southern negro. The following article, taken from the *Tell City Anzeiger* of March 26, 1870, presents a good summary of Tell City's furniture industry:

The furniture trade of Tell City with the South is constantly increasing. None of the steamboats plying between New Orleans, Memphis and Cincinnati passes our city without first shipping a quantity of furniture of all kinds; there is even often a lack of transportation facilities, so that the large wharfboat is constantly full to overflowing and sometimes cannot accommodate the goods awaiting shipment. At the beginning of last month the splendid sidewheeler "Indiana" was detailed here from Louisville, without cargo, in order to take a full cargo of furniture to the South. Several others have followed this boat.

The same paper on July 30, 1870, reports:

Last Sunday morning at seven o'clock Capt. J. W. Sterett with his new side-wheel steamer "Diana" arrived here from the upper Ohio and took on board furniture to the value of \$8,000, eight wagons and a large

consignment of shingles. Aside from the crew, the steamer carried only ten passengers. She lay at the landing until eleven p. m., up until which time the work of loading continued uninterruptedly. The wares were piled in cabins, state rooms, upon the decks and in fact, in any place where sufficient room could be found, and only narrow passage ways were left as a means of communication from one end of the boat to the other. The merchandise was destined for Galveston, Texas.

In fact, the enormous boat loads of Tell City furniture, which passed down the river in the days before the railroad, have become almost traditional along the Ohio. During periods when the river was low, the Tell City mills were forced to store their product until the river became navigable again, and this, of course, caused a tremendous export in the favorable seasons. Frequently, too, the furniture would be towed on barges to Evansville, Indiana, or Henderson, Kentucky, and there loaded on trains. Tell City was indeed (and still is) an important furniture manufacturing center. But that was not Tell City's only product as the following list of exports during two weeks in 1866 shows:

300,000 pounds of castings, exclusive of kettles, etc., from Kimbel and Zins' foundry; several hundred bedsteads, bureaus, tables, wardrobes, etc., from the Tell City Furniture Factory; 400 dozen chairs from the chair factories; 20 cotton presses and 2 hay presses from the Agricultural Machine Co.; 100 sacks of carded wool and cloth from Hanser, Becker and Spoerri's woolen factory; 200 barrels of flour from Steinauer and Co.'s mill; 50 half barrels of beer from F. Voelkers and C. Becker's breweries; 20,000 feet of flooring, doors, windows, etc., from M. Deckert's and J. Schoettlin and Co.'s Planing Mills; 500 new kegs; 20 fine marble grave-stones from H. Ludwig; 25 pairs of bellows; 4 wagons; 12 spinning wheels; 2 spring wagons.

In 1866 Tell City had approximately 2,600 inhabitants, mostly Swiss and German, more factories than any city of its size on the Ohio south of Louisville, good schools, and no jail.

One of the chief concerns of this growing industrial community was the securing of a railroad. The first project which affected Tell City was the so-called Anderson Valley railroad. A notice in the Tell City *Anzeiger*, March, 1867, informs us:

The citizens of Dubois county are willing to build a good road, if

possible a railroad, from Jasper to the Ohio river, and for this purpose have invited the citizens of Troy, Cannelton and Tell City to participate in the matter.

Local citizens are invited to assemble at the marketplace Sunday morning at ten o'clock for a discussion.

Nothing definite ever came from this proposal, as far as Tell City was concerned, although much enthusiasm was aroused and some negotiations were entered into. Again in 1871 there was a railroad agitation; the line, known as the Ohio River railroad, was to run through Newburg, Rockport, Grandview, Troy, Tell City, Cannelton and Leopold and connect with the Air Line near Hartford, Crawford county, or else run into New Albany on an independent line.*

It was not until some years later that Tell City was linked to the rest of the country by rail. The Huntingburg, Tell City and Cannelton railroad, a part of the Air Line system (now the Southern) was organized about 1886. By August of the same year the citizens of Tell City had subscribed \$5,000 for the proposed line, and in September they held a railroad election which was to determine whether the city should levy a two per cent. tax for that purpose. By a vote of 455 to 15 it was determined to levy the tax.** On May 4, 1887, the city council passed an ordinance granting a right of way to the railroad company. On the thirty-first of December, 1887, amid the rejoicings of Tell City's inhabitants, the first railroad train came through the town.

As early as March, 1859, steps had been taken relative to the incorporation of Tell City as a town. This action had been resolved upon by the convention of 1858. In April the agent was ordered to make a census of the town and compile a report of the society property. In July Tell City was incorporated, the first election occurring on Monday, July 25, 1859. The trustees elected were, Henry Brehmer, Joseph Einsiedler, Charles Reiff, Chris Nebelmesser, J. M. Rauscher, Fred Rank and William Leopold. The other officials were J. C. Schening, clerk; Fred Steiner, marshal; William Leopold, assessor; John

*De la Hunt: *Perry County. A History.* W. K. Stewart Co., Indianapolis 1916, page 312.

**Tell City *Anzeiger*, September 18, 1886.

Wegman, treasurer; Rauscher, Anders and Reiff, school trustees.

On March 3, 1860, a committee, which had been appointed for that purpose, was urged to secure a town seal, representing William Tell as a symbol of the town, as quickly as possible.

It was intended to dissolve the Swiss Colonization Society as soon as the incorporation was effected. A newspaper account says the society was declared dissolved in the convention of 1860, and the following disposal made of its property:

The property of the Society is to be divided into three equal parts: one-third shall be turned over to the Tell City free schools immediately, one third shall be used for improvements in the settlement and one-third for the benefit of manufacturing companies.

As long as Tell City was not incorporated as a city the administration of the property of the dissolved society was to be in the hands of a board of seven members, called a liquidation committee, which should be elected annually by the citizens of Tell City. At this time the value of the Swiss Colonization Society property was something over \$50,000. On February 24, 1877, a meeting of the citizens of the town was called to discuss the transfer of the business of the Swiss Colonization Society (meaning doubtless, only the liquidation committee) to the town of Tell City. Nothing definite in regard to the matter was done until the next year, on September 12, 1878, the board of the Society resolved to appoint a committee to examine the society records and turn the valuable records over to the city. Then, on March 20, 1879, the committee for the cession of the society property reported that all lots and lands which the society still owned should be transferred to the Tell City school, for the benefit of the special school fund. Some time later it was resolved that the money remaining (\$133.13) be given to the city to buy a small fire-engine for the Little Active Fire Company. And on the same day, April 17, 1879, a motion was made that it be published in the paper three times that the society board from this day be completely dissolved, for which Editor Bott shall receive two dollars. It was passed. Hereupon the society board adjourned forever.

The minutes of the town board during these years show that it was busied with the usual affairs which come before such bodies,—street improvements, market ordinances, etc. The records were kept in both German and English and in 1878 the town clerk was given a special allowance of \$20 for writing the minutes in the two languages. The town ordinances, it seems, were drawn up in English, and in order that members of the town board might use them intelligently for reference, they had to be translated into German. Still, by 1870 the occasional use of an English word for its German equivalent, and a poorer quality of German script show a decline of the German. The minutes of the board of trustees and later of the city council, were written in German until as late as 1894. On April 16, 1865, a special session of the board was called to pass resolutions on the death of Abraham Lincoln. In 1867 an ordinance was passed licensing saloons. The minutes reveal that there were several competing volunteer fire companies, and the trustees had to exercise tact to escape the charge of partiality in assisting the different companies. In 1868 a fire department was established. A committee to consider the diminishing of the corporation limits was appointed in 1869. This matter came up again in 1877, but nothing was done.

In 1871 the building of a jail was proposed. The privilege of erecting telegraph poles was granted in 1878, and similar action with regard to the telephone was passed in 1882.

On January 6, 1886, a petition from over 200 voters was presented, asking the incorporation of Tell City as a city. Consequently, the town clerk was directed to publish a notice that on the first day of March, 1886, a poll would be taken at the market house to determine whether the town should be incorporated as a city. A large majority favored incorporation and a record of proceedings was filed in the circuit court of Perry county in March, 1886. The city was divided into three wards, the first extending from the southern boundary of Tell City to Humboldt street, the second comprising the territory between Humboldt and Jefferson streets, and the third bounded by Jefferson street and the northern corporation line.

The first meeting of the common council was held on March 31, 1886. The officials were August Schreiber, mayor; Anton Moraweck and John C. Harrer, councilman from the first ward; Valentine Ress and John Hess, from the second ward; Henry Bader and Joseph Adam from the third ward; Frederick Kaelin, city clerk; William Schroeder, marshal; Alexander Gasser, Sr., treasurer, and Charles Gramberg, assessor.

Having now traced a rough outline of the historical development of Tell City, and having observed and followed out the industrial plans of the Swiss Colonization Society, we will doubtless find it of interest to retrace our steps and notice those phases of the community life which differentiated Tell City from other settlements of the time and gave it its distinctive character as a unique Swiss American settlement. We find among the members of the Swiss Colonization Society a strong interest in education. Some of the more eager settlers tried as early as February, 1858, to secure a vacant house for a school house. This was objected to, because it was felt that it was more necessary to provide shelter for the coming settlers than to have a school house. In June a committee which had been appointed to attend to the matter of erecting a school house reported that there were then in Tell City fifty children of school age, and that in a short time the number would probably be doubled. As the financial condition of the society would not permit its appropriating much money for school purposes, for the time being only one school building could be erected: In the same month it was decided to construct a building, about 30 by 40 feet in dimensions, two-storied, with a large school room and a residence for the teacher in each story. The first school, under the direction of Albert Oestreicher, was opened within four months of the founding of the settlement, though not in the building proposed, for a year later the society was still unable to build a school house. Citizens at that time were asked to contribute to the salary of a second teacher.

For the first few years the struggle to keep the schools going was a difficult one. The administration of school affairs was a matter of general community interest and mass meeting of the citizens for the discussion of school matters were

frequently held. Fortunately, the proceedings of these meetings from 1861-68 have been preserved. On July 14, 1861, it was resolved that two German-English free schools should be established in Tell City and as soon as the means permitted a third school, a high school, should be founded. The curriculum was to include reading and writing in German and English, arithmetic, history, geography, singing and drawing. (No mention is made of yodeling, but the good Swiss did at one time teach it in their schools.) There were to be thirty hours of instruction a week and advanced pupils were to be given work to do over Saturday and Sunday. A six weeks' vacation was to be allowed in the summer, and during that time the teachers were to receive half pay. The salary of the teachers was set at thirty dollars per month, with residence and one cord of stove-wood a year free. Before the election of teachers in 1861 a meeting was held so that all citizens might inform themselves concerning the fitness of the applicants. A committee of ten citizens was to co-operate with the school board in choosing teachers.

In 1862 a fire destroyed one of the school buildings and the funds for building a new school were made up largely by private subscription and the contribution of the Colonization Society. This school was known as the South school. By 1865, however, the new school was so crowded that plans for another building were inaugurated. The same year the funds available were not sufficient to keep the schools going the full term as free schools and during the month of December a tuition fee of one dollar per pupil was charged. By 1866 the public schools accommodated four hundred pupils, who were taught by five teachers. The teachers at that time were Mr. Debus, Mr. Huthsteiner, Mr. Baumgaertner, Mrs. Ellen Largent and Miss Hedwig Knecht. That year it was definitely decided to build a two-story brick school house with four rooms, on Tenth street, between Jefferson and Tell. The funds for this building were also in part provided by private contributions.

Money for the schools was often raised by fairs, picnics and exhibitions, which were always well patronized. One picnic netted a sum of \$131.90. The property which the

Swiss Colonization Society ceded the schools was also of great assistance. Besides the public schools there were various private night schools in which mathematics, bookkeeping and especially English were taught. The citizens of Tell City, though they cherished lovingly the memories and the traditions of their native Switzerland, were striving industriously to acquaint themselves with the customs and language of the adopted fatherland. Tell City, like all German Hoosier communities, was deeply interested in the struggle for the legal recognition of German instruction in the public schools of Indiana. This matter was decided by an act of the General Assembly of 1869, which sanctioned the use of the German language in the public schools.

Nothing presents clearer the intellectual attainment and cultural standing of the founders of Tell City than the names which they gave their streets. It is a delightful surprise to find in this little city streets named Mozart, Schiller and Rubens. The street names Franklin, Fulton, Gutenberg, Watt and Payne show a recognition of the leaders in various fields of knowledge and achievement. Humboldt, Jefferson, Washington, Blum, Steuben and DeKalb testify to an admiration of all champions of liberty, and Tell, Pestalozzi and Winkelried proclaim a reverence for the heroes of Switzerland.

The first church in the community was established by Catholics. Two lots on the west side of Eighth street, between Jefferson and Fulton, were sold the congregation in 1859, but the cornerstone for the building was not laid until July 10, 1870. Two lots were sold to a German Evangelical congregation in 1861, and a church was erected in 1863. At present there are in Tell City, besides the churches named, a German Methodist church, founded during the '80's, an English Methodist, established some ten years later, and a Lutheran congregation which was founded in 1900.

The early Tell City newspapers contributed considerably to the community life. The first newspaper was the *Helvetia: Organ fuer Fortschritt, Freiheit und Vaterland*. It was not originally a Tell City paper, but first appeared in Cincinnati in 1857, under the editorship of J. H. Walser. It was widely read by Swiss all over the country and devoted most of its

space to news from Switzerland and to the activities of Swiss settlements in the United States. It was closely identified with the Swiss Colonization Society and became virtually its official organ. Like all German newspapers it contained a Feuillon, or literary section; the selections published were often really good literature. The management of the *Helvetia* was transferred to Tell City in 1859, from which time it was known as the *Helvetia, Tell City Volksblatt*. Dr. N. Sorg became editor of the paper in November, 1859.

The *Helvetia* was followed by the *Tell City Anzeiger*, which was published by M. Schmid and F. J. Widmer and first appeared on September 1, 1866. It was to be "not a so-called political, but a local paper." After the first year it was published by Martin Schmid and Son, and in the third year passed into the hands of H. G. Bott and M. Schmid, Jr. The *Anzeiger* remained in the hands of the Bott family until 1912, when it was bought by the Evansville *Demokrat*, a German newspaper published in Evansville, Indiana. The Feuillon of the *Anzeiger* offered its readers many interesting bits of literature. Some American impressions of the German author and traveler Gerstaecker were reprinted in the *Anzeiger*, and occasionally we find selections from eminent German American writers. Frequently there were copied from larger German American papers verses in which the transplanted German expressed his impressions of America. There were frequent satirical thrusts at the Prohibitionists; sketches and poems in the Swiss dialect were always popular with the readers of the *Anzeiger*.

The early records of the Swiss Colonization Society expressed the hatred that its members felt toward slavery and emphasized their love of republican principles and liberty equality and justice. In this respect the people of Tell City were but typical of all German Americans, although the fact that many of the townspeople were Swiss intensified their love of freedom and democratic government. They were always actively interested in the political questions of the country. By 1860 Tell City was able to assert itself as a political factor. The town was Republican in politics and its citizens were enthusiastic, loyal champions of Abraham

Lincoln. At the first presidential election in which Tell city participated all but three of the votes cast were for the Rail Splitter. Their zeal for Lincoln and the Union assumed a more concrete form than mere noisy cheering and ostentatious flag waving. The first company to leave Perry county for enlistment in the Civil war was a Tell City company captained by Louis Frey. This company left on May 17, 1861. Again in November the town sent more volunteers, a company of ninety, the largest single body of men that came from the county during the war. The officers were Theodore Pleisch, captain; Nicholas Steinauer, first lieutenant, and Ernst Kipp, second lieutenant.* Thus did Tell City make its contribution to one of the most glorious pages in the history of Indiana.

In July, 1862, a homeguard was organized. Every man who did guard duty one full night, from eight p. m. until 4 a. m., was to receive a certificate good for a credit of forty cents on his taxes. Four companies of artillery were also formed. The chief duties of these organizations was to keep watch along the Ohio. They drilled every afternoon in an open space where the Southwestern Furniture Company now stands, and whenever an alarm was sounded from the market house, now replaced by the city hall, they were to assemble there immediately. The homeguards were called out twice, once when it was reported that Morgan the Raider was approaching the town, and again when rebels were said to be threatening Troy, a small town a few miles down the river from Tell City.

The town again showed its patriotism in 1916. Of the national guard companies mustered in for border duty in July, the Tell City company of 119 men was the largest company in its regiment.

After the war the political mind of Tell City found much to take up its time. There was a bitter contempt for President Johnson and his policies, and correlative with that a strong feeling against the negro. It was very humiliating to the people of Tell City to see the negro receive the full rights of citizenship, while everywhere Know-nothing was disparaging

*De la Hunt, *Perry County a History*, 216.

the German element. In those days the German American element in Indiana, more solid than it now is, was an important, as well as an uncertain factor with which to reckon in State politics. The voters of Tell City, like the majority of German Americans throughout the land, recognized Carl Schurz as their political guide and leader.

During the '90's Tell City and its neighbor, Cannelton, were engaged in a bitter struggle for the location of the county courthouse. Tell City, finding it necessary at that time to build a city building, the present city hall, planned the structure so that it could be used as a courthouse, should the city win the fight. But in 1896 Cannelton came out victorious, having subscribed \$30,000 for the county building. It is said that Tell City earlier had the chance of locating the courthouse, but refused because the settlers did not want any loafers hanging around.

No German American settlement in the last decades of the preceding century would have been complete without its Turnverein, or gymnastic society. So, also, the Turnverein in Tell City was influential in the life of the community. Although the early inhabitants were industrious and thrifty, as they had to be to withstand the hard times through which they lived, they were also a people who greatly loved recreation and social intercourse, and the social life of the town centered largely around the Turnverein. The entertainments, which were frequent, varied from mere informal gatherings to gorgeous masque balls. In May, 1859, the Swiss Colonization Society gave the Turnverein a ninety-nine year lease for a lot, the rent to be one dollar a year. The chief purpose of a Turnverein is the physical training of youth, the development of a "sound body in a sound mind." Classes for the training of children in the gymnastic arts were held twice each week, and to insure general participation, the dues at one time were as low as ten cents a month for each pupil. A big gymnastic exhibition was held in Tell City as early as 1859, and even Turners from Cincinnati participated.

There was a Theater-Sektion of the Turnverein which deserves especial mention. The group of amateur actors comprising the "Sektion" presented frequent plays, and

seemed to be most active between 1860 and 1870. Some of the prominent actors were Peter Herrmann, Mrs. Wagner, Mr. and Mrs. Dreyling, Mrs. Thomas, Mr. Keck, Mrs. Bauer, Mrs. Kepp, and Mr. Nebelmesser as prompter. The pieces presented were usually some of the farces with which German literature abounds. Benedix was a favorite author; plays by Holtei, Gutzkow, Kotzebue and Koerner were also presented. But dramatic efforts in Tell City were not limited to comedy and farce, for at one time Koerner's *Hedwig, Die Banditenbraut*, a "heavy" drama in verse was given. Perhaps the most notable offering was Schiller's *The Robbers*. The fact that plays were often repeated shows that they were really appreciated. We see that in this little German American settlement, long before the Little Theatre movement became a popular fad, there existed a true people's theatre, which was backed by an enthusiastic patronage. At times Tell City would also be visited by professional companies of both English and German actors. One such company presented *Faust and Gretchen* and *William Tell*. The inhabitants of the town were such enthusiastic theatre goers that sometimes there would be more than one company playing on the same night.

The good people of Tell City delighted fully as much in music as they did in drama. A Maennerchor (men's chorus) was organized in January, 1859, with twelve members. This soon became an important organization. A brass band was organized soon after the Maennerchor and when the weather was favorable a concert was given every Sunday by one or the other of these musical groups, or sometimes by both together. In May, 1860, the Schillersaengerbund on the Ohio, a union of singing societies from Evansville, Henderson, Kentucky, Tell City and Cannelton, held its first song festival at Tell City. The Tell City Maennerchor participated in several large singing tournaments, not only in Indiana, but also in other States.

The *Helvetia* doubtless expressed the sentiment of the town, when it said:

We are glad to have here a Maennerchor which has often shown us the power of song, and which is a great credit, not only to our settlement but to all Germans. May the members of the same continue to contribute to the intellectual and cultural advancement of our colony.

Though the Maennerchor outlived its contemporary, the Theater-Sektion, it is no longer a potent influence. Tell City, however, has always supported several musical organizations,

The national sport of Switzerland has long been rifle shooting. The Swiss founders of Tell City brought with them a love for their native pass time. The plan of colonization provided that a certain hill, which was called the Rigi, in honor of the Swiss mountain, should be set aside as a rifle range. A Schuetzen-verein was soon organized and frequent shooting matches were held, in which there was manifested much interest. The club also maintained a library. Representatives from Tell City participated in many shooting matches in this country and in Switzerland. In 1868 the club was presented with a beautiful flag from the Schuetzen-verein of Einsiedeln, Switzerland. Tell City marksmen captured prizes at Schwyz in 1867, at Zug, in 1869, and at Uster in 1900. At the national shooting match at Highland, Illinois, in 1872, Mr. G. Fahrin won two cups and other prizes (excluding the cups) to the value of \$100. The Tell City Schuetzen-verein no longer exists.

Other essentially German organizations in Tell City are the William Tell Grove, Order of Druids, organized 1864, and the Gruetliverein, organized in 1859. Besides these organizations Tell City supports chapters of many of the most prominent American orders.

Reviewing the activities which gave to early Tell City such an interesting and varied community life, we are almost forced to agree with one of the early settlers who maintained, "There is more life among the Germans than among the 'Yankees!'" But, as the younger generation grew up, the town became more and more Americanized, interest in those things which were typically Swiss became weaker and weaker, until, in the words of the aforesaid pioneer, "There is no enjoyment but the picture show."

Still, Tell City is conscious of, and takes pride in the rich background of its early history. Nor has it altogether lost the character of a Swiss settlement. The German language frequently tinged with a strong Swiss accent is often heard on the streets of the town and there is everywhere an

atmosphere of thrift and industry. A home-coming week, June 28 to July 4, 1908, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town, brightened Tell City's recollections of the early pioneers and their activities. The unique history of the town and its Swiss character were also brought out in its Indiana Centennial Celebration of July 20 to 22, 1916. Frequently the Swiss flag was displayed with our own emblem and floats representing incidents in the early life of the town as well as tableaux illustrating the Tell tradition made valuable historical contributions.

A comparison of the plans of the Swiss Colonization Society with the town of Tell City as it is today shows that the town never fulfilled the expectations of its founders. A prominent citizen, who has been acquainted with Tell City's industrial history from earliest times has analyzed the situation thus: first, the founders expected altogether too much. Then, the town has always been a purely manufacturing town. It received no support from the surrounding territory, because the soil was so poor that agriculture did not flourish. To remedy this, the Colonization Society tried to buy land at Rome, Indiana, but found the price too exorbitant. Similar efforts at Grandview failed. Finally, Tell City was unfortunately planned to be a strictly Swiss settlement. No Americans were encouraged and no outside capital was accepted.

Tell City now numbers between four and five thousand inhabitants. It would indeed be difficult to find anywhere a busier manufacturing center. Some of the early industries still thrive. As we have seen, Tell City's chief product is furniture. Whereas in earlier days the furniture was a cheap grade destined for the South, now much of the product, which is of the finest grade, finds a market in the East.*

*The material for this thesis has been gathered from (1) letter files and other records of the Swiss Colonization Society; (2) early files of the Tell City *Anzeiger*; (3) isolated numbers of the *Helvetia*; (4) Thomas James de la Hunt, *Perry County A History*.

Diary of the Mexican War

By THOMAS BAILEY, Musician, Company C, Fifth Regiment,
Indiana Volunteers

Mustered in October 30, 1847. Company C. Capt. Robert M. Evans. James H. Lane, Colonel. Allen May, Lieut. Colonel. Fifth Regt.

Oct. 31. Sunday. On this morning embarked on board of Steam Boat "Wave" in company with Company H. Capt. E. G. Cary¹ and Company I Capt. Mahlon D. Manson² and Co. [?] was in the cabin and the below deck, the whole under command of Maj. John H. Myers and after a fine ride we arrived at Jeffersonville at 9 o'clock at night, landed and layed by all night, no soldiers allowed to go on shore.

Nov. 1. Monday. Left Jeffersonville about 10 o'clock, passed the Falls, water rather low, the S. Boat Phoenix close in our rear and S. Boat Ne Plus Ultra about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile ahead, run all day, fine weather, had a fine view of Louisville and Albany; saw S. boats at several landings.

Nov. 2. Tuesday. Having run all night at daylight passed Evansville, at 11 o'clock passed the mouth of the Wabash.

Nov. 3. Wednesday. Having run all night at daylight at Island No. 16 in Mississippi; run all day, passed Memphis at 7 p. m. At 7 p. m. run on for a few hours, fog arose. Stopped at a "wody" and, wooded [took on cordwood for engineer]; started again and got lost in the fog. layed by till morning at a cotton farm. today we were racing from 12 o'clock till near night with S. Boat Phoenix and most of the time both boats just abreast. Just above Memphis we wooded and Phoenix passed us. She stopped at Memphis and we passed her.

Nov. 4. Thursday. This morning [stopped at] the Cot-

¹ Died January 14, 1848.

² Of Crawfordsville; Congressman 1871-1873; died at Crawfordsville February 4, 1895.

ton farm between 9 and 10 o'clock and left two of our men on shore, Sam Cosner and William Hays, both supposed to have deserted afterwards. Cosner was taken by our officers out of the Fourth Ten. Regt. of Vol. at camp at Molino and afterwards made a good soldier. They both joined that Regiment at Memphis where Hays again deserted and has not been heard of since. today passed Helena, in the afternoon run the Horse-Shoe bend, passed the mouth of White River at 7 p. m. about two hours after Jas. H. Bartlett of Capt. Cary's Company fell overboard and was lost. the yawl was sent after him but he sunk before they got to him, it was very dark.

Nov. 5. Left landing where we had stopped for fog during previous night and run a few miles. Stopped for fog about 9 a. m. this morning; at 10 a. m. started and run all day and passed Vicksburg at 10 o'clock at night.

Nov. 6. Saturday. waked up, we were landed at a wood yard, today, passed Grand Gulf at 9 o'clock a. m., fine looking country on shore. Passed Natchez at 5 o'clock p. m. and landed to wood this evening, run down in sight of Ellusis Cliffs.

Nov. 7. Having run all night wooded [in] the morning early above Baton Rouge. Run all day. Very fine country. Sugar farms. Arrive at Lafayette at 9 o'clock. Here we lay all night, no one allowed to go on shore.

Nov. 8. Left Lafayette at 7 a. m. run down to lower end of Algiers on west side of river opposite New Orleans. Stopped by the side of Ship Thamowo, S. Boat Phoenix on the side, Ship Tiberias above and Palestine and Victory and several below; put Capt. Cary's company on the Thamawo at 11. The steam ship Alabama anchored in river close to us, the Wave soon after went to her to put us on board of her, she was not ready to receive us and we were put on board the ship Sophia laying above the Thamawo out in the river, till the Alabama could get her coal and get ready; here we passed the night on the Sophia.

Nov. 9. Tuesday. On board the Sophia; left here at 8 in evening went on board of the Q. M. Dept. Job boat, Colonel Clay, run up to Lafayette to go on board of the

Alabama Steam Ship. When arrived there was ordered to go back and anchor out in the river, did so. After running into the Alabama and smashing her boat and then run into stern of the S. Boat Chas. Carroll, went down to Sophia and anchored in middle of river, had to sleep in hold without any food or any place to cook till next day at 1 o'clock. While laying here I took possession of a negro peddling yawl and went to city shore and spent day in city.

Nov. 10. "Col. Clay" started to Alabama where our Company and Company I commenced going on board of the Alabama. She laying at same place the Wave On Sunday night at 7 o'clock steam ship started for Vera Cruz. She had a number of horses on board also a number of officers [of] Company C and I; we run down 10 or 12 miles, had to stop for fog.

Nov. 11. Left the landing at 6 a. m. run on down river passed Ft. Jackson about 1 o'clock and before dark were out of sight of land.

Nov. 12. Friday, fine weather run all day and night.

Nov. 13. Fine weather run as usual; I was some sea sick.

Nov. 14. Sunday. fine weather, running as usual.

Nov. 15. Monday morning, a severe storm raging, came on at 10 o'clock continued all day, land in sight. continued beating land with bow to the wind.

Nov. 18. Storm abated in the night about 12 o'clock and commenced raining. We commenced running for Vera Cruz, came in sight about 10 o'clock a. m. came to anchor at 11, passed English Mail Steamer Severn of London, and anchored just between the castle³ and town behind the Severn and two of U. S. war vessels, name not known. a large amount of shipping steamers to the right of us. at 12 o'clock we landed on the mole in Vera Cruz and marched out about two miles to camp. Where [we] were encamped [with] part of First, Second Dragoons also 3 Ten. Vol. and some of U. S. Artillery in a rather open plain close to a church.

Nov. 17. We were here in camp, from this to the 25 we was hard at drill. Having drew our muskets and accouterments also our canteens.

³ San Juan de Ulloa.

Nov. 25. All up this morning at 3 o'clock and commenced our march to City of Mexico. Started soon after day light Our Regiment in advance and our Company, C, at the head of the Column. We stopped at the second arched bridge for dinner till our train of wagons did ascend the high sandy hill, passed Santa Fe. We here had a shower of rain, then passed over a large rolling plain, and here met some troops and some wagons. We encamped at a small river 18 miles from Vera Cruz; we found stationed here some of the mounted men from Georgia; today passed through an uncultivated land with all the ranchers houses burnt, had a fine cool day to march, through a sandy road.

Nov. 25. Friday. started at 8 o'clock a. m., passed several arched bridges and encamped on the Sawana; fine and cool all day, ranches all burnt, more uneven land, very little sign of cultivation.

Nov. 27. Saturday. Marched to the National Bridge and encamped just beyond. Passed two arched bridges; today found a number of regulars stationed here. found first buildings here, some fine ones and some in a wretched state.

Nov. 28. Sunday. Started early march to Plan del Rio. [a small town] our company in rear guard today. We encamped beyond a broken bridge on an elevated piece of ground close to the ruins of an old church, most of houses in ruins, an old fort just above the bridge all in ruins, having been blown up with powder to [prevent] reinforcements from reaching Gen. Scott [at Cerro Gordo].

Nov. 29. Monday. started early, marched up hill all day and encamped at fine creek called En Ereno; here found several houses in ruins, no timber in sight fine grass country. weather fine, cool, as we were very high up on mountains. Several fine ranches in sight at a long distance, Several fine ranches at our camp but evacuated by owners or residents. We tore off the roofs for fire wood. today we marched through the Cerro Gordo Pass, saw lots of canon balls over the ground and three brass cannon in the road two of them in the Cerro Gordo redoubt all of their carriages gone and none but the guns left, first few miles very hilly after we got through

Cerro Gordo, a rising lofty elevated prairie almost among the clouds, very good roads for last three day, all paved and all the dust in them lime.⁴

Nov. 30. Tuesday. left camp at El Reno and marched up mountains, nearly all of the time we appeared to be near tops, we could see clouds between [us] and the tops, they appeared close to us today. the country looked fine but not settled, passed several ranches, saw corn, and lots of fruit and saw some cultivation, nearly all of the fences stone. some corn up, some planted. Oranges and other fruits all ripe, and plenty, saw peach trees in bloom and with fruit on, very good water, cool. After marching 6 miles passed by Jalapa and after 3 miles more came to camp. Called campe Buttes. Saw little of city, the shrubs and garden fine. Finest kind of oranges, peaches and apples in abundance, people gathering fruit and plowing and planting.

Dec. 1. Wednesday. In camp at dress parade; in the evening we had a general firing off of guns, nothing of note till Dec. 5.

Dec. 5. Sunday. Commenced march Wed. early again, passed through a settled country, up the mountains all the time, passed through several villages came to pine timber on the mountain. Got so high as to be among the clouds, could see them above and below, before and behind us, in road like a thick fog. during the march in the clouds it was drisly, we passed several places that had been volcanoes, on the apparent top was a vast amount of lava and rocks, all look like if they had been melted and resembled about 3 miles of blacksmith cinder showing that there has been terrible irruptions and earth quakes as the mountains appeared be of melted stone on the top; several Mexican fortifications, two of them redoubts crossing the road, with embrasures for cannon; before we got to our camp we passed La Joya where Capt. Walker with 45 men defeated 300 Lancers in just 47 minute by the watch, killing 67 without the loss of a man. this evening we encamped at Los Vegas close by an unfinished church, among clouds. we were so elevated it was cold, drizzling and disagreeable.

⁴The battle of Cerro Gordo had been fought on the preceding April 18, 1847.

Dec. 6. Monday. We marched from Las Vegas early and arrived at the Castle of Perote at about 2 p. m. today, passed several vilages; first part of the road clay, traveled along above clouds; after 8 or 10 miles decended from clay mountains into a sand valley that extended to Perote; on the mountains fine lumber, pine, cedar and evergreens, valley close to Perote in better cultivation than any land seen yet in Mexico. The town small and ill-looking. we encamped between the castle and town.

Dec. 7. Tuesday. Left the castle of Perote and marched to a village called San Juan near 28 miles, no timber in sight in our whole days march in the immense sandy plain; the mountains at a great distance on both sides of the road, when we started this morning the Sugar Loaf Mt. right in center of the plain looked as if it was close to us, we just had partly passed the mound when we came to our camp; the top of Orizaba in sight all day; no cultivation to-day; only passed two ranches, only one of them inhabited; it was on the left of the road, 11 miles from Perote; here we found the water salty, here the Colonel gave out one wagon load of bread extra to our regiment. We marched all day, camped close to the village, on very level ground, at a distance from mountains, had a very disagreeable marching in dust and sand but fine camp ground.

Dec. 8. Wednesday marched from San Juan to Talpeca about 30 miles all day in same plain as at Perote, same sort of road as yesterday, no timber. Saw no cultivation today but saw ranches at a distance from road. Our Company in middle and wagons as guards. Today lost 4 men out of our Brigade, who gave out and lagged behind the rear guards and were taken by the Mexicans—one from Ten. Regiment, 2 from our Regt. company B. Capt. [George] Green and one from Co. I Capt. Manson [William H.] Marshall of Co. B. came to us at Molino del Rey. the other two of our Regiment were killed, the Tennesseeman has never been heard of.

Dec. 9. Marched all day to Agua or warm springs, still in the plain, fine camping ground very close to foot of mountain; to-day drew flour for first time. Dress parade this evening of our brigade, Fifth Ind. vols. and 3rd Ten. vol.

all fired off their guns and alarmed the brigade that had just arrived at Talpeca consisting of Third and Fourth Ky. volunteers some Dragoons and Artillery. the Dragoons came to our camp to see if we had been attacked, also the Third Ky. Regiment was formed and started to us but returned to camp at Talpeca.

Dec. 10. Left camp at Agua and marched to El Penon, passed 3 villages, left plain after several miles of it. today well cultivated fields of corn for miles, ditches for fences and muscat (mesquite) plants for heges, soon after leaving the plain came to Nopalucan, the second village passed today. Here we purchased some Mexican bread. We were rear guard today and was here in town till the advance guard of the Kentucky Brigade arrived in town, Maj. Genl. [William O.] Butler and escort; soon after we passed another town there was a report of an attack in front. The wagons were formed in double line and the brigade closed up and prepared for an attack. some of our Company thought they could see the Lancers about a mile from road among the bushes and muscat [mesquit] plants on the left. I saw them but could not tell whether Lancers or other Mexicans; we saw clouds of dust at a distance on both sides of road in an apparant village, some sayed raised by the Mexican Lancers. Soon after came to our camp at a small mud wall village close to foot of an almost perpendicular mountain. Here we used water from a made pond that was filled in the wet season.

Dec. 11. Saturday. marched from El Penon to Amozoe and encamped in the main Plaza; today for first few miles we marched right along under the mountains the road running right at the foot. Soon after we left the mountains we passed through a village, the country in places some cultivated, lofty and rolling road very dusty and sandy especially near Amozoe; just before we arrived at camp we passed through El Penon Pass; was near a mile long and was a road cut through rock some places hardly wide enough for two wagons to pass. The sides of the appearant wall so steep as to not allow a man to get out at more than one or

two places, with trees and bushes growing on the edges that completely covered it from end to end.

Dec. 12. Sunday. Marched from Amozoe to Puebla, same dusty and sandy road. country hilly, well cultivated for Mexico. It was here at edge of city [we were met] by Our gallant countryman Gen. [Joseph] Lane also 4th Ind. Vol. we marched through a good part of the city, found it a large splendid city, houses 2 and 3 stories high. built in the old Spanish style, with many fine churches, we were quartered in a large church west of the Great Church, an immense building, as part of it, supplied our whole regiment with quarters, with open courts full of fruit trees with splendid fountains of good water.

Dec. 13. Monday. In the large cathedral or church resting, got orders at one o'clock to prepare to march at 4 o'clock p. m. which was incorrect in the end.

Dec. 14. Tuesday. This morning left out quarters for the city of Mexico and after a long fatigueing march of 30 miles we arrived at San Martins and encamped in one of the Plazas; today marched through a well cultivated country all the ground in good cultivation could see many from road. When about 12 miles from Puebla at ranch, we was wheeled into platoons in expectation of an attack, but it was all a flare up to get the men in ranks, as we seen no enemy all day; we got to camp after dark. here this evening the orderly sargeant of Company B was stabled by a Mexican; it was only a slight flesh wound.

Dec. 15. Wednesday. Marched from San Martins to Rio Frio near 28 miles, most of the fields watered by ditches bringing water from the mountains, which were on both sides of the road. Soon began to assend the mountains; for a while found it under good cultivation, good pine timber, close to Rio Frio found lots of trees acrost road to prevent General Scott from advancing on the City [Puebla], passed one large arched bridge, close to camp found an arched bridge gone and a tempory wooden one and here also Mexican breast-works; about noon we had about 20 pack mules stolen and retaking of them delayed us, so it was near dark when we

entered camp, the highest and coldest in Mexico. Today Captain [Samuel] McKenziey and some others got behind the rear guards and were taken by Guerrillas; the same night one of them came in to camp nearly naked and reported McKenziey wounded and taken prisoner.

Dec. 16. Thursday. March from Rio Frio to within about 15 miles of the City and encamped close to a lake and a very indifferent village of unburnt brick; we traveled up hill a short distance and then down hill to near our camp; on those Rio Frio mountains there was good pine and cedar timber, also oak and laurel.

Dec. 17. Friday. Marched from our mud built village to the City road, very good; marched in by Penon road; saw the great fortifications that were raised to meet General Scott that were never used, as he turned them and entered the City by other side. We marched passed the front of the Great Cathedral and was quartered two squares west of the main Plaza and Cathedral on the south side of the street in the large Convent of Santa Clara.

Dec. 18. In quarter; nothing of note but drill three times a day. Alimeda a great square of at least 20 acres, planted with all sorts of trees so as to represent a Park with fine paved walks and splendid fountain and trees making a great shady place, great for walking for citizens. City has narrow irregular rough paved streets, all of the houses built in Spanish style with portico and windows. The entrance a very large door. Some similar to our barn doors in size but more like our prison doors to allow their carriages, wagons and mules to enter; the lower rooms are the abode of mules and mustangs; and here the slaves or lower class live; the wealthy Mexicans living always in the upper story. The stories are higher than in the states being mostly near 15 feet high. There are many Churches built in a very firm and lasting manner; Some of them in the greatest of splendor and has few equals in the world. the main Church room is near 500 feet long and more than 100 ft wide with an arched roof about 100 feet high. Supported by 16 columns in two rows at least 8 feet thick this room does not occupy $\frac{1}{4}$ of the vast building.

Jan. 17-1848. Today our Regiment moved out to the plain of Molino del Rey. about 5 miles from the City and beyond the great Castle of Chapultepec. we were here encamped on an extensive plain, very level. our camp about a mile from Toluca, our sentinels close by the Kings mills or Molino del Rey, here we still drill three times, a day, so we did not have much time to do nothing and the most of the time it was very warm in day time but cold at night. the Castle of Chapultepec is about one mile nearer the City than Molino; it was the Mexican Military Collidge; it is built over the top of a hill altogether of stone; it is about a mile in circumference at the base about 300 feet above the level plain; the castle covers near ten acres of the whole top on the side next to the City, the hill is nearly perpendicular; the base of the hill is surrounded by large gardens with old shade trees in abundance so as to make a splendid Park or Garden, on the west side a great Park of more than 20 acres, immense large cedar trees altogether, a great many of them over 3 feet, all the trees are supposed to have been planted by the ancient Mexicans; there are more than 100 acres of ground in the garden. Parks and vacant courts, together with the Hill, are surrounded by a wall near 20 feet; the road from City to Molino goes through this enclosure. I noticed one cedar tree at the foot of the Hill where the road starts up to the Castle, that was 60 feet around, had an immense top in a very thrifty growing state, the Hill and the Castle Chapultepec are surrounded by a very level plain, very nearly and partly covered with water. all of the fences are ditches from 8 to 10 feet wide and from 6 to 8 feet filled with water. nothing of any note but Camp news, and very hard at drill.

May 13. Saturday. This evening at 10 o'clock we started from our Camp at Molino and in the following morning arrived in the town of San Augustin, 15 miles south of the City of Mexico near the foot of the mountains, we traveled all night, it was tolerable cool, though not very unpleasant, the road settled all the way; we passed many houses or ranches, we were quartered in a large Amphitheater, or circus together with Company's D, E, H, and J this is a fine town with very large and splendid gardens and orchards with many

apples peaches and with fine water and great shade as the plaza was filled with good shade trees. Here, we quite drilling and had none but dress parade in afternoon at 4 o'clock. In the west edge of this town they make the factory cloth as in the states, they have all parts going on picking, carding, spinning, weaving, they here also make some woolen clothing and blankets of many different colors.

May 30. Tuesday. Today ordered for a grand inspection of arms and accouterments, all are cleaning up guns, we are expecting to march in few days.

May 31. Wednesday. In quarters preparing to march tomorrow.

June 1. Thursday. Drum beat at 2 o'clock did not move till daylight, on our way to Vera Cruz passed Cherubusco, here left the road to the city, turned to the east to come to the great road from Mexico to Vera Cruz, encamped in village at the foot of a large hill called Mexicalcingo, in sight of the city and Penon.

June 2. Friday. Marched very [early] our Regiment in the advance, marched across the uncultivated plain and came to the great road east of Penon, passed the road about 10 o'clock, there we encamped at Dec. 16. As we came up marched to the mountains just before we got to our camp where we passed a small creek, we found two men murdered and thrown down a deep chasm. We encamped tonight in Muscat (mesquit) plant field. Today Boyd of Co. E. was killed by falling off a stone on his head when he was resting. [No such name in roster of regiment.]

June 3. Saturday. Today marched to the Rio Frio where we camped on Dec. 15 most of the way up hill, first few miles yellow clay soil all the way. Tolerable good timber, evergreen. This morning, started late as we had to wait for the Fourth Regiment Tenn. to start as it was their day to go in the advance.

June 4. nearly all way down hill, pine timber, fine farms, camped $\frac{1}{2}$ mile beyond San Martin in a wheat field.

June 5. Monday. We were in advance. Started early had gone ten miles by sunrise. left camps before 3 o'clock. fine cultivation all the way, dusty. We passed through the

city of Puebla and encamped in the edge of the city a small Park or Alameda with fine water. A long march today level ground, just as we get our tents up came on a hard rain and hail.

June 6. Fourth Tennessee Regiment in advance marched over an uneven rocky country to a small village to within 8 miles of Ely Penon where we encamped on Dec. 10. in the square, rain again.

June 7. Wednesday. Started last. Third Tennessee Regiment in advance passed Ell Penon at 9 o'clock, passed Nopalucan at 11. here we took a left hand road, sayed to be nearer, 7 miles beyond Nopalucan camped in a large plain close to ranch, rain again.

June 8. Thursday. Marched early Fifth Indiana Regiment in advance, a sandy uneven country mostly uncultivated, some large fine farms, fields of corn all size below the waist of man; encamped here raining.

June 9. Friday. Marched from San Francisco to Castle of Perote a long march. After 6 or 7 miles passed San Juan where we encamped on Dec. 7. today marched through mud for first time in Mexico. fine fields of corn.

June 10. Saturday. Started early, Third Tennessee Regiment in advance, commenced raining, passed Las Vegas at 11 o'clock, soon after ascended the mountains, marched through the black pass, and encamped on the left of a village and road in a small plain within 10 miles of Jalapa, continued raining during our march today for first [time] broke a number of wagons coming over the hills.

June 11. Sunday. Started early not raining. cloudy, met some Mexican soldiers and large trains of heavy waggons, passed camp Patterson marched through city of Jalapa and encamped 6 miles beyond.

June 12. Camped, rested from long march awaiting for shipping to arrive at Vera Cruz.

June 13 Tuesday

June 14 Wednesday

June 15 Thursday

June 16 Friday.

Yesterday had a mass meeting of soldiers at Col. Lane's;

asked of Democrats to repond to the nominations of Gen. Cass for President and Genl. W. O. Butler for Vic. President.

June 17. Saturday. Today moved our camp from old ground over a mile to just east of the bridge where we camped
Nov. 29. raining.

June 18. Sunday, raining and continued all night.

June 19. Monday. Encamped; orders to be ready to start tomorrow at $\frac{1}{4}$ hour's notice.

June 20. Thursday. In camp; rain slightly this morning

June 21. Sill raining.

June 22. Moved camp from the bridge one or two miles up creek.

June 23. In camp, raining

June 24. Saturday. In camp preparing to march this evening.

June 25. Sunday. Reville beat at 12 o'clock a. m. raining hard, did not march until day light. Passed Plan Del Rio or Broken Bridge at 11 o'clock A. M. this night encamped at a Rancho 4 from the National Bridge, very far to go for water.

June 26. Marched at daylight passed the National Bridge encamped at Owiegas, on the North side of the road, in a small field close to the West bank of river.

June 27. Commenced march at 2 o'clock, passed the bridge we encamped Nov 26, marched to San Juan before daylight. encamped met U. S. Mail here.

June 28. Marched at 4 o'clock for Vera Cruz encamped on the beach 3 miles from Cera Cruz.

June 29. Started at 6 o'clock marched to city at one O'clock p. m. embarked on ship Elizabeth of Philadelphia Companys B, C, D, E, I, in command of Maj. Myers and at 6 o'clock p. m. was towed out and sailed with a light East wind.

June 30. Friday. Sailing, two ship in sight.

July 1. Saturday. Sailing, wind same as yesterday.

July 1. Sunday. Wind same as yesterday, today the "Ship Rockall" that was all the way in a few miles of us to leeward passed us close to our windward, with in speaking

distance. Part of Third Regiment of Tennessee on board.

July 3. Monday. Calm all day. "Rockall" a few miles ahead.

July 4. Saw two steam ships on their way to Vera Cruz.

July 5. Calm at 9 o'clock was taken in tow by Star and the Rockall also; had a hard rain had to be towed again. Anchored at the Balize bar.⁵

July 5. Thursday. Passed the bar early and Fort Jackson at 3 o'clock.

July 7. Run down below Algiers and anchored out near the middle of the river the Rockall just ahead of us.

July 8. Saturday at 10 o'clock all five companys embarked on Steam boat Pike N 8 [Number 8] for Madison, Ind. run to New Orleans there stopped until 6 in evening.

July 17. Today we arrived at Madison at 3 o'clock P. M. passed through the Canal at Louisville Ky. this morning at daylight all soldiers took boarding mostly amongst the Citizens as the boarding houses were full with the Fourth Regiment Indiana Volunteers who were waiting to be discharged.

July 27. Today at 3 o'clock p. m. Company C. was mustered out the service of the U. S. A.

THOMAS BAILEY.

⁵ Mouth of Mississippi river.

Lincoln in Indiana

(Concluded)

By J. EDWARD MURR

LINCOLN'S AMBITION TO BECOME A RIVER PILOT

I know there is a God and that he hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming, and I know that His hand is in it. If He has a place and work for me—and I think He has—I believe I am ready.

It was Goldwin Smith who said: "The Mississippi river was once a mental horizon and afterward a boundary line." During Lincoln's youth this river had become the highway for the western pioneer, and what was true of the Father of Waters was true of the Ohio river.

Lincoln came in touch with the outside world on this great highway. Travel by boats, slow as it was, served as quite the best means of making long journeys. Occasionally a passing steamer landed at Anderson creek, and since Troy was regarded as a place of some importance most of the river crafts made port there. Hence young Lincoln, while acting as ferryman during his seventeenth year, was privileged to see somewhat of life from without. Notable men occasionally passed, and he may have even met with some of them.

A short distance above Troy, General LaFayette, while making his tour of the Western States by way of the Ohio river, spent a night in a stone house on the river bank after his disabled steamer sank. Perhaps Lincoln did not see the "Friend of Washington," but his passing and the circumstance of his spending the night ashore not far from where Lincoln lived, furnished a theme for the pioneers for a considerable time thereafter.

It was while acting as ferryman at Anderson creek that Lincoln made his first dollar. This circumstance, which he related in later life to members of his cabinet and Secretary Seward in particular, was as follows:

I was standing at the steamboat landing contemplating my new boat, and wondering how I might improve it, when a steamer approached coming down the river. At the same time two passengers came to the river bank and wished to be taken out to the packet with their luggage. They looked among the boats, singled out mine, and asked me to scull them to the boat. Sometime prior to this I had constructed a small boat in which I planned to carry some produce South which had been gathered chiefly by my own exertions. We were poor, and in them days people down South who did not own slaves were reckoned as scrubs. When I was requested to scull these men out to the steamer, I gladly did so, and after seeing them and their trunks on board, and the steamer making ready to pass on, I called out to the men: "You have forgotten to pay me." They at once each threw a half dollar in the bottom of the boat in which I was standing. You gentlemen may think it was a very small matter, and in the light of things now transpiring it was, but I assure you it was one of the most important incidents in my life. I could scarcely believe my eyes. It was difficult for me to realize that I, a poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day. The world seemed wider and fairer before me. I was a more hopeful and confident being from that time.

Young Lincoln being ambitious and desirous of bettering his condition very naturally looked to the river for employment. Possessing some skill with carpenter's tools he had at this time constructed a boat that he deemed seaworthy enough to make the journey referred to in his conversation with Secretary Seward.

It has been asserted by some of his biographers that this journey was not made, and one writer ventures to suggest that since the Lincolns had nothing in the way of produce justifying such a trip, it was therefore merely a journey of the imagination. Such a position taken is a needless effort to establish the well-known poverty of the Lincolns, but since no such journey was undertaken by any at that time without presuming upon neighborly assistance, which proved in substantially every case to be a mutual accommodation, the proposed trip down the Ohio and Mississippi by young Lincoln might have been fully justified, since it is now known that he had on his own account a crop of tobacco. The plans for the trip, as indicated in the conversation with Seward, were so changed as to cause him to leave his own boat behind and take passage upon the flatboat of Mr. Ray.

Having made this and the later trip with young Gentry

down the great river, he seems to have been disposed "to follow the Ohio," and a little later went to his old friend and patron "Uncle Wood," in whom he reposed great confidence, requesting that this gentleman aid him by way of a recommendation to secure a position on some steamer plying up and down this river. Mr. Wood, realizing that Lincoln was not of age, hesitated to advise the youth to leave his father, and refused to give the assistance deemed by Lincoln essential to secure a position. It was quite the rule in that day for a boy to remain with his parents until reaching his majority. However, Lincoln was very insistent, and in the course of his argument remarked that "it was his best chance," and "a chance is all I want." After some persuasion on the part of Wood, he yielded and remained with his father until well into his twenty-second year.

Since the river traffic along the Ohio and Mississippi at that time, and for a considerable period thereafter, was great, had young Lincoln succeeded in prevailing upon his old friend Wood to aid him in securing a position as pilot we might have lost our great war President, but would have perhaps gained another Mark Twain. In any case, had he been so fortunate as to find some "Boswell," his fame as a humorist would have been secure.

That young Lincoln seems to have become resigned to his lot is evidenced by Mr. Wood in stating that soon after this interview relative to his becoming a river pilot he saw Lincoln whip-sawing lumber, and on asking him what he intended doing with this, Wood was told that the elder Lincoln was "planning to erect a new house in the spring." The letters of John Hanks concerning the Illinois location and the glowing accounts of Dennis Hanks on his return from that region occasioned the abandonment of the plan to erect the new home, and the lumber was disposed of to Josiah Crawford who used the major portion of it in the construction of an additional room to his house.

It was soon after young Lincoln returned to the farm from Anderson Creek ferry that he formed the habit of attending the various courts, but it was while acting as ferryman that he attended court for the first time. His presence

there was not prompted by mere curiosity or due to any ambition that he possessed to take up the law as a profession, but he appeared as a prisoner at the bar, the first and only time in his life; although, had there been debtors' prisons during a certain period of his lifetime, he might have suffered imprisonment in consequence of the overwhelming obligations that he assumed and which he failed to meet until many years after they were incurred.

The circumstance of his becoming a prisoner and his appearance in the court were as follows:

While acting as ferryman at Anderson creek on the Indiana side of the Ohio river, John and Benjamin Dill, two farmers residing on the Kentucky side of the river just opposite the town of Troy, had become licensed ferrymen. Occasionally when busily engaged in agricultural pursuits, they neglected the ferry to the extent that their ferry bell would sound again and again without their hearing it; or, what was more probable, on hearing it failed to respond to its call. On such occasions when the bell rang repeatedly, young Lincoln would push out from the Indiana side and ferry the anxious traveler across the river, and of course received the usual fee for such services.

Whether Lincoln's ear was thought to be too attentive to the ferry bell on the Kentucky side of the river, or whether the Dill brothers wished to make him an example to any and all who were disposed to take liberties with their legal rights, we do not know, but in any case they decided to entrap Lincoln and visit him with suitable punishment. Accordingly they requested a neighbor to sound the ferry bell, and when they did not respond as was frequently the case, Lincoln quickly oared across the river. Running his boat up to an opening in the dense willows on the river bank where the supposed anxious passenger stood in apparent readiness to step in, Lincoln was surprised to find himself seized by both the supposed passenger and the Dill brothers who had up to his appearance been hiding in the willows. They at once announced their intention of giving their prisoner a "ducking." The youthful ferryman not appearing to understand their motives became very angry, and the presumption is that he manifested this

in no uncertain manner. It never appeared clear whether the original purpose of the Dill brothers was carried out or seriously attempted after the preliminary skirmish with "Long Abe," but it is quite true that they at length proposed to "take him before the squire" where punishment could be meted out in a legal manner. Lincoln, by this time understanding his supposed offense, accompanied his captors to the local justice, one Samuel Pate, who resided one mile distant down the river. On their arrival at the farm home of Pate finding that gentleman out on the farm at work, one of their party was dispatched to inform his honor that more weighty matters needed his attention, while the others stood guard over the prisoner.

More or less regularity appears to have been observed in the hearing accorded the youthful offender. At first it is said he was greatly disturbed on hearing the statements of the two Dills and about the decoy, more especially so when it appeared from some of their assertions that a jail sentence awaited him, but when the 'Squire proposed to him to offer his version of the affair and make any statement that he cared to, Lincoln gladly availed himself of the opportunity. In doing so he freely and frankly confessed that on numerous occasions he had ferried passengers across the river from the Kentucky side when the travelers failed to secure a response to the repeated ringing of the bell, but he disclaimed any knowledge of the fact that in so doing he had violated any law, distinctly stating that he did not know he was thus encroaching upon the rights of the Dill brothers; that if he had known it was wrong, he would not have been guilty in any single instance. He further alleged that not only was he free from intentional wrong, but in reality he supposed he was conferring a great favor upon the owners of the ferry who, he supposed, were at such times away from home or were otherwise engaged, as well as accommodating anxious travelers.

Without throwing himself upon the mercy of the court or pleading for leniency, he nevertheless did so all the more effectively by impressing, as he did, both his accusers and the 'squire with his sincerity, truthfulness and honesty, re-asserting his ignorance of the law and promising that in the

future he would not be found trespassing upon their rights. The appeal was effective, and the court, after listening to this recital of facts, dismissed him with some suitable words of advice. Thus, like Cæsar in chains, he had talked himself free.

The 'squire became greatly interested in Lincoln, and finding him a great talker and inquisitive concerning court procedure especially, urged the young man to prolong his stay, which he did. On taking his leave the 'squire pressed upon him an invitation to attend a sitting of his court which Lincoln accepted, and not only did he attend this particular sitting, but became a regular attendant so long as he remained ferryman at Anderson creek.

'Squire Pate did not live to witness Lincoln's rise to fame, but many of his family did. The house is still standing in which this trial was held, and the only remaining son of Pate pointed out the room in which this memorable sitting of his father's court was held. The circumstance was known to a number of the old citizens of the neighborhood, and a full account of this incident appeared in a local newspaper in Lincoln's old home county—the *Perry County Tribune*.

Young Lincoln was in the habit of attending the sessions of the circuit court as well as trials before the local justice of the peace. That he possessed an ambition at this early period to become a lawyer is certainly true.

His friend, David Turnham, was elected constable of the township, and had in consequence gotten possession of a copy of the *Revised Statutes of Indiana*. Lincoln being especially anxious to read this volume and Turnham being loath to have it leave the house, Lincoln spent hours at Turnham's home devouring this book.

The volume contained a copy of the Declaration of Independence as well as the National and State Constitutions. These Lincoln studied, committing to memory the Declaration of Independence and large portions of the National Constitution, and for the first time in his life met with legal enactments touching upon slavery.

Aside from the flatboat trips down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, young Lincoln saw comparatively little of the

world without. As has been indicated, he frequented the sittings of the circuit courts at Boonville, in Warrick county, as well as at Rockport, the county seat of Spencer county, and was often at Troy. In addition to his visits to these comparatively small places, he had an occasion to go at least once a year, after approaching manhood, to Princeton, in Gibson county, there being a carding machine located at that place which converted the fleece into rolls ready for the spinning wheel. Hand carding being quite tedious and slow, young Lincoln was sent with the wool to this machine. The journey was a rather long one for that time, and occupied some three days. These little excursions, together with the usual trips to Gordon's or Hoffman's Mills, relieved the monotony and routine of life, and it is said that these trips were gladly welcomed by the future President.

The mills for grinding corn in the early days were crude affairs. The "horse-mill" was the first one introduced, small mills propelled by horses hitched to a "sweep." Later, and during the Indiana residence of the Lincolns, Hoffman's water mill was erected on Anderson creek. The horse mill at Gordon's was the scene of that incident that Mr. Lincoln was accustomed to revert to again and again, professing to think that it was one of the principal incidents of his life. The circumstance was as follows:

Lincoln and young David Turnham had gone to mill, but securing a late start and having to "take their turn," it was quite late in the afternoon when young Lincoln hitched his father's old flea-bitten gray mare to the sweep, and perching himself upon the accustomed seat began to urge the old mare to a lively pace. He was "clucking" and belaboring the horse with a switch and in the midst of his urgings he started to say: "Get up here, you old hussy," when the old gray resisted the continued drubbing and lifting her hind feet kicked him full in the face. Before the sentence was finished the young man was knocked off the sweep and lay unconscious. Young Turnham ran for help, and soon Abraham's father came with a wagon, placed the unconscious youth in it, and took him home. He lay in a stupor during the greater portion of the night but toward morning showed signs of returning con-

sciousness. Erelong he roused up and opening his eyes exclaimed:—"you old hussy," thus completing the exclamation attempted the evening before.

Mr. Herndon, the law partner of Lincoln, said that Lincoln often called attention to this experience of his youth and entered into discussions with him as to the mystery connected with the utterance of these particular words on regaining consciousness.

Occasionally young Lincoln was privileged to get a breath of the great world from without by meeting with some chance passerby or "mover" to other regions in the then far West. On one occasion a wagon of one of these emigrants broke down near the Lincoln cabin and while the damaged vehicle was undergoing repairs the wife and daughter on invitation spent the time in the Lincoln cabin. What was especially interesting to the youth was that they had a book of stories which the lady read to him. After their journey had been resumed, Lincoln, who like the great apostle to the Gentiles turned everything to his advantage, proceeded to write a story of the whole affair; but giving free play to his imagination and fancy he drew the account out at some length, describing in detail his mounting a horse and overtaking the emigrant wagon, and proposing an elopement with the young lady whose father interposed objections to their marriage. Lincoln purposed enlarging upon this story and submitting it for publication, but thought differently concerning it later, and thus the story, which was doubtless crude and altogether unworthy of a place in literature, was lost save that we have preserved the one item of value which was that he was always "scribbling and writing."

It is rather remarkable that Lincoln did not appoint any of his old associates to any Federal position, since there were at least some three or four of them quite capable. On the score of boyhood friendship it would appear that he would under ordinary circumstances have remembered them, especially when good and efficient service would have been rendered by some of them in certain departments. So far as can be ascertained no applications ever reached him for patronage from any of his old friends, although, as has been heretofore detailed, some two or three journeyed to Washington for that

purpose, but were anticipated and forestalled in such a manner as to prevent any formal request being made. This characteristic seems to have been peculiar to Lincoln, for even in the appointment of his friend, Judge David Davis, unusual pressure was made with some suggestion of reluctance even then. The departments were not filled with his old associates, and political loyalty was not especially rewarded by him. This practice was quite the reverse of that of President Grant.

William Ferrier, well known by the writer, was a boyhood associate of General Grant. He often related the following circumstance which was characteristic of General Grant, although in some respects an exceptional incident; and since it serves as a contrast to the practice of Lincoln it is here given.

Ferrier was the founder and long the publisher of the *Clark County Record*, an Indiana newspaper in its day wielding considerable power and influence. Ferrier and Grant were boys together and were great friends. At the time of Grant's appointment to West Point, young Ferrier was appointed to Annapolis, but was prevented from entering the Navy by reason of physical disability, and another was selected in his stead who later became a Rear Admiral. Ferrier drifted West and early became an editor. Like Grant, he was a Democrat, but at the outbreak of the Rebellion he boldly changed his political affiliation and became an ardent supporter of Lincoln. Later when General Grant became President, his old friend decided to go to Washington and call upon him in the White House. On entering the waiting room he found a large number of persons, and supposing that it would be some time before he could be admitted he seated himself, and while indulging in this reflection he was surprised greatly on hearing his name called. On regaining his composure somewhat he approached the private office of his boyhood friend with conflicting emotions, very naturally judging that his name must have been recognized as that of an old acquaintance and thus given precedence; at the same time wondering whether he was justified in accepting such courtesy when so many were in waiting, perhaps on urgent business. On entering the room of the President he was greeted by General Grant with the salutation: "How are you, William?" The two old

friends renewed their former acquaintance by reference to numerous incidents transpiring in their youth. Grant particularly mentioned the old swimming hole and the time when their clothing was stolen, while Ferrier reminded Grant of his driving a particularly fine span of horses down main street in Georgetown and cracking his black-snake whip. In recalling this incident Ferrier suggested:

Mr. President, although we have been separated all these years, I have watched your career with considerable interest and pride. I have been your supporter, both during the War and in the political campaign, but I give it as my judgment that as great as have been the honors that have been showered upon you, you have never had an occasion to be quite as proud of them as you were that morning in Georgetown when you drove those horses.

Grant laughed heartily and readily acknowledged that "this was probably true." After a few moments in conversation Ferrier arose preparatory to taking his leave, whereupon the President motioned him to be seated, and then unexpectedly asked him if there was not some position at his disposal in the government which Ferrier would like to have. Ferrier, whose purpose in making the call was far removed from this, replied:

No, sir, Mr. President, I have no ambition at all to serve the government in any appointive or elective office whatever. I am an editor and enjoy my work, and do not desire to leave it.

To which the President replied:

Very well, William, then I'll see to it that you are furnished certain copies of government notices which are at my disposal, and these can be printed by you; they will mean something to you, I hope.

No opposition was of course made to this, but on the contrary the unexpected offer was received with hearty thanks. On Ferrier's again suggesting that he was unduly taking up the President's time, Grant motioned him to his chair and asked: "Where is your brother Jim?" Ferrier replied that his brother was a resident of Jeffersonville, Indiana. "Then, William," announced the President, "I shall appoint Jim as postmaster of Jeffersonville." "But, Mr. President, my brother is not now, nor has he been an applicant for this position,

whereas others have, and my understanding is that Senator — has this matter at his disposal." "William, I must remember my old boyhood friends. Jim will be appointed postmaster at Jeffersonville." "Yes, but Mr. President, while I assure you I appreciate your generosity and friendship, and I feel quite sure that while my brother is not an applicant for the place, he would be more than pleased to receive the appointment. But my understanding is that Senator — has already made choice of a gentleman for this place." "William, I am President and Jim will be postmaster."

The sequel is a matter of history and furnishes very interesting reading in the light of present-day procedure. James Ferrier was appointed postmaster for Jeffersonville, and Senator — interposed objections, the Senate refusing to confirm the appointment. On the adjournment of Congress Ferrier was appointed by Grant, and when Congress reassembled the matter came up and his confirmation again failed. On the adjournment of Congress once more the President appointed Ferrier, and this time the Senate confirmed his appointment. William Ferrier, the editor, enjoyed the government patronage in the matter of public printing as long as this was at the disposal of General Grant.

Lincoln never forgot a kindness, as evidenced in his steadfast refusal to attack John Calhoun during the great debate with Douglas, since Calhoun had early befriended him.

Lincoln was enabled to appear before the people as a successful candidate on numerous occasions, and took particular pride in calling attention to the fact that he had never been defeated but once when the people themselves were appealed to, although his methods in some respects were anything but those of a politician.

He did not concern himself in local elections when he was not a candidate. Being so often before the people for political preferment, there were times when others equally ambitious to serve their party either became Lincoln's opponent or threatened to be. At such times he would seek an interview with them, and with an unconscious arrogance and priority of claim he would say:

I would rather than not that you step aside in this race and let me have a free field so that I may show them what I can do.

He was only delivered from egotism by the recognized superiority of his powers, and would have been justly charged with monumental selfishness but for the steadfast adherence to the great basic principles of truth and justice. Meeting often with trickery and double-dealing in politics among those high in the councils of the party, he never lost faith in the plain people. Since he himself never wavered in the performance of his public duties, but administered public affairs as conscientiously as he pulled corn blades for the Crawford damaged book, he thus more nearly than any other before or since represented the people. It is believed that he is more highly regarded and sincerely appreciated by the people of the South today than is Jefferson Davis, and this, together with the fact that he preserved the unity and continuity of our nation, is the greatest and most enduring monument to his memory. Of all the men aspiring to the Presidency during the campaign of 1860, Lincoln alone could have preserved the unity and continuity of our nation.

“NOW HE BELONGS TO THE AGES”

Broken by it I too may be; bow to it I never will. The probability that we may fail in the struggle ought not deter us from the support of a cause we believe to be just.

An attorney by the name of Breckenridge resided on a farm not far from Boonville, the county seat of Warrick county. This town was about twenty miles from the Lincoln cabin, but the ambitious youth frequently made pilgrimages to this gentleman's home to borrow his law books, sometimes remaining throughout the day and night reveling in the mysteries of the law.

Wesley Hall maintained that young Lincoln also obtained his first opportunity of reading Shakespeare on these visits, and alleged that he had heard Lincoln recite portions of some of the great dramatist's writings.

Members of the Breckenridge family long pointed out a

certain stump in the yard of the home which they had pleased to call "Lincoln's Stump" by reason of the fact that at certain times he was in the habit of perching himself upon this while reading.

Lincoln visited the circuit court sessions both at Rockport and Boonville, and it was at this latter place that he heard John Breckenridge, a member of the famous family by that name in Kentucky.

A murder had been committed, and the defendant had employed the brilliant criminal lawyer. The knowledge that "a big lawyer" from an adjoining state was to be connected with the case reached Gentryville, and a number of men journeyed to Boonville to witness this trial and particularly to hear Breckenridge. Lincoln was, of course, one of this group.

Breckenridge had been greatly favored by nature, and possessing an enviable reputation as a great lawyer he had become more or less vain. Quite in keeping with the custom of the times among certain classes his dress was particularly fastidious, and his raven black hair was made yet more glossy by a copious use of "bear's ile."

The court room was crowded, and Lincoln stood well to the rear throughout the whole of Breckenridge's argument. At the close of this address a short recess was taken, and during this intermission a number of the members of the bar offered congratulations on the masterly effort of the great advocate. Young Lincoln, witnessing these expressions of appreciation and being profoundly moved by the address himself, straightway resolved to offer his congratulations also. Unmindful of the fact that he was not a member of the bar, that he was dressed in his accustomed blouse, and buckskin breeches, with his coarse black hair disheveled and in wild confusion, he pressed forward, offered his hand to the great man and was on the point of expressing his pleasure at hearing the argument, when Breckenridge deliberately turned his back upon the youth, not deigning to notice him.

Years went by, and when Lincoln was in the White House this gentleman, then a resident of the State of Texas, was presented to the President, who readily recalled both the man and the circumstance at Boonville. Lincoln exclaimed as he

grasped the proffered hand: "Oh, yes I know Mr. Breckenridge. I heard you address a jury in a murder trial at Boonville, Indiana, when I was a boy. I remember that I thought at the time it was a great speech, and that if I could make a speech like that I would be very happy."

It will be observed throughout that Lincoln's ambition "to rise in the world" was overmastering. It was said of a great German that he was the "God-intoxicated man." So it might well have been said of young Lincoln that he was intoxicated with a consuming desire to acquire knowledge.

Very naturally one would be led to believe that had such a hungry mind been supplied with books in abundance his advancement would have been rapid. But there is even in this wasted pity and sympathy, judging by some certain things transpiring a little later.

When Lincoln entered upon the practice of his chosen profession—the law—and had more or less leisure for study, he read but few books. Associated as he was with Stuart, Logan and Herndon, and the latter possessing a rather pretentious library, yet Lincoln rarely read these books. It was his custom while out on the circuit to take on these six weeks' journeys school texts, and a great deal of his time was taken up with literature of a lighter character than one would have supposed true in his case. A great deal of his reading was desultory, and he appeared to revel in those publications of a humorous or witty character. Judging by his tastes in this regard, had he been privileged to have access to such publications as *Judge* or *Puck*, he would have been greatly delighted.

It may well be doubted therefore whether any other course than that which he did pursue would have proven any better than the self denial which was imposed upon him, and compelled his complete mastery of the few classics that fell into his possession.

Contrary to the statement of Colonel Lamon and others who alleged that Lincoln did not read the Bible during his youth, it is indisputably true that he read it again and again. Indeed, if there were no other evidence than his public addresses and State papers to verify this, that would be quite

sufficient for the very spirit and sentiment of many of them are traceable to the King James version of the Bible.

But we do not need to rely upon this source altogether for information in the matter, since his associates assert that he was accustomed to read the Bible very much, and such a practice in a youth, which was not at all common then and for that matter is not so today, would well be calculated to occasion comment.

The London *Times*, in speaking of Mr. Lincoln's second Inaugural Address, likened it to the productions of one of the ancient prophets, and spoke of its author as possessing such keen prophetic insight and power as to justify the appellation of a seer.

Lincoln read Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* again and again, and so familiar did he become with it that he could repeat many pages from memory. He particularly admired Aesop's *Fables*, and so often did he read them that he could have said, as did Lord Macaulay of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, that if every copy had been destroyed, he could have reproduced it from memory. Dennis Hanks said that "young Lincoln would lie down on his face in front of the fire, with Aesop's *Fables* before him," and read to his stepmother and the "illiterate Denny," as Abraham called him. When some point in the story appealed to him as being funny or humorous, he would laugh and continue laughing so heartily that both Mrs. Lincoln and Dennis would be compelled to join him, although Hanks asserted that "most of the time he did not know what he was laughing about, although Abe said he did."

The family Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress* and Aesop's *Fables* were the only books in the possession of the family on their arrival in Indiana. The mother of Lincoln was accustomed to read these books to both her daughter Sarah and little Abraham, and it is said that Aesop's *Fables* possessed a peculiar fascination and charm for him while yet a mere lad at his mother's knee.

The *Life of Washington*, which Lincoln obtained from Josiah Crawford in the manner heretofore detailed, was read many times, and if it may be charged that this volume took

occasion to deify Washington and failed to meet with acceptance at a later period, it was perhaps the very best sort of publication for Lincoln and certainly better suited to him at that time than such a biography as that by Washington Irving. The *History of the United States*, as has been stated, was obtained from Jones, the storekeeper, but *Robinson Crusoe*, and *The Life of Benjamin Franklin* we do not know how or when they were obtained, but probably from the library of Crawford.

What marvelous transformation was thus wrought in the life of a single youth, and what potential possibilities are wrapped up in a single soul! Left, as Lincoln was, a motherless lad at the tender age of ten, living for one winter in a half-faced camp with no teachers and no schools worthy of the name, yet strange to say mastering some of the world's best classics, which fate, or chance (that Victor Hugo says is only another name for Providence) had thrown in his way, and with the Indiana wilderness as his *Alma Mater* he matriculated at an early age. His curriculum was history, theology, mathematics, literature and woodcraft. His major was history; his frat house, a half-faced camp, and his college campus, a clearing that he had made with his own hands. He left brush college during his freshman year to devote himself exclusively to athletics, in which he particularly excelled, especially with the ax and maul. After a time he took up the study of law, having found a copy of Blackstone's *Commentaries* in a barrel of plunder which, strange to say, he had purchased from one poorer than himself. He later entered upon the practice of his chosen profession which he followed until he was called to be the chief executive of the nation.

Lincoln's life story surpasses anything in the pages of romance or fiction ever conceived or invented by literary genius! It is passing therefore strange that the boy Lincoln has for the most part been refused those things that in later years were so marked in his character and which were beyond question sufficiently prominent in his youth as to cause his early associates to remember him by them.

An effort has been made in the performance of this self-imposed task to show that substantially every characteristic

trait so universally allowed in Mr. Lincoln as a man was also noted in him as a boy and youth.

It is believed that sufficient data has been offered to substantiate the claim made that before Mr. Lincoln reached the State of Illinois, and therefore while yet a resident of Indiana, he possessed that inimitable style in public address, his well-known sense of fairness, his strange and weird melancholy, his quaint humor and rare wit, his consuming ambition, certain weaknesses, his abiding faith in Providence, his superstitious beliefs, his Calvinistic fatalism which he usually hitched on to a sort of Arminian faith, his freedom from bad habits, his methods in original investigation, his peculiar style in controverted questions, his power with the pen, his honesty and truthfulness, and in fact every characteristic that has been noted in him again and again as a man.

It is also believed that there is sufficient data submitted to justify the claim that not only was the foundation of Mr. Lincoln's character laid in the Indiana wilderness, but the beginning of all that afterwards made him great asserted itself during these early years.

It is of course not asserted that Mr. Lincoln's style, both in public address and in composition, was at all perfected while a mere youth, for he seems to have made steady progress in this to the very last. But it is claimed that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the belief that his peculiar style in debate, his platform mannerisms, his cool, calculating logic and irresistible wit and humor were quite as characteristic of his boyhood efforts as they were later noted and so generally commented upon.

It is recalled that he could set an entire neighborhood laughing and talking about his productions. He impressed himself upon Judge Pitcher and the Baptist minister so as to cause each of them to express keen appreciation of his ability with the pen when his manuscripts on National Politics and Temperance were submitted to them. It would seem to be only a reasonable supposition and not mere conjecture that the man who wrote the second Inaugural Address, the Cooper Institute speech, and the Gettysburg oration in the day of his power and maturity would have manifested some intimation

of this great ability and latent power earlier in life a thing which he seems to have done quite often, but more particularly in the compositions above referred to.

LEAVING THE INDIANA WILDERNESS

The Almighty has his own purposes; * * * Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away.

The Lincolns and Hankses left Indiana in the month of March, 1830. John Hanks, after spending four years in the Indiana home of the Lincolns, returned to Kentucky, and then moved to Illinois in the year 1828. He wrote such glowing accounts of the new country that it caused Dennis Hanks to make a journey to this region with a view of removing there.

The terrible blight of milk-sick which began its ravages in Gentryville in the year 1818 continued for the next ten years. Dennis Hanks lost all of his cattle in consequence of its ravages, and had been seized with the disease himself, but recovered. When Dennis Hanks decided to leave Indiana for Illinois, he influenced his mother-in-law, Mrs. Lincoln, who did not wish to be separated from her daughter. She seems to have been largely responsible for the removal of the Lincolns also, and accordingly both families and that of Levi Hall, another son-in-law of Mrs. Lincoln, began to make preparation for this change during the winter of 1830.

The farm of Thomas Lincoln was disposed of to the elder Gentry, if indeed it was not already his by reason of having loaned the money for its purchase originally. At least, a quantity of corn and a drove of hogs were disposed of to Mr. Gentry, and such other changes were wrought as proved necessary to make this journey to begin life anew. Thomas Lincoln had a "chuck wagon," the woodwork being his own construction, but since it was "ironed off," it was a subject of considerable comment, for such vehicles were exceedingly rare. It was necessary to have suitable teams of oxen, and accordingly there began more or less "swapping and dickering". In the main this was done by Dennis Hanks, John Johnson and Abraham Lincoln. Allen Brouner stated that two of these oxen

were obtained from him, Abraham Lincoln and John Johnson making this trade. There was considerable "haggling" over the trade on the part of Johnson, Lincoln not entering into the matter save in an incidental way. Brooner long afterward, in speaking of this circumstance, said: "If anybody had asked me that day to pick out a President, I'd a quickly made choice of Johnson."

The elder Hall sold the other yoke of cattle to Thomas Lincoln, but these were purchased by proxy, he having sent his son Abraham and Dennis Hanks to do the trading. Wesley Hall delivered the team to Hanks and young Lincoln.

Hall was present on the occasion of the beginning of the journey to Illinois. However, the Lincolns only journeyed that afternoon as far as Gentry's in Gentryville, and remained over night with that gentleman. During the night young Lincoln made a judicious selection of notions, such as needles, pins, thread, knives, forks and spoons, his purchase amounting to just thirty dollars. With this "peddler's outfit" he purposed realizing a profit by disposing of it along the way at the farmhouses. This he seems to have succeeded in doing beyond his expectations, for "he wrote back after his arrival in Illinois stating that he doubled his money".

The people of Gentryville were loath to see the Lincolns leave, and it is said that on the morning of their final departure quite a crowd collected to bid them farewell. Many of them accompanied the Lincolns some distance on their journey, among them being the elder Gentry. One man in telling of seeing them begin their journey stated that "Abe drove the oxen, having a rope attached to the horn of a lead ox, and with a hickory 'gad' in his free hand."

None of the party of thirteen ever returned to the scenes of their fourteen years' residence in Indiana save Abraham, and, as has been stated, he spent three days in and about Gentryville during the political campaign of 1844 making three speeches in that county. He was the guest of the Gentrys most of the time. However, after making the speech at Carter's schoolhouse he accepted the urgent invitation of "Blue Nose" Crawford to accompany him home. He was much the same Lincoln then that his old friends had known fourteen

years before. He quite readily recognized all of his old neighbors, calling them by their given names, and made inquiry as to certain things in which he had been especially interested prior to his leaving there. He expressed a desire on reaching the Crawford home to see the old whip-saw-pit where he had stood as the "under man" on many an occasion whip-sawing lumber.

Sometime after Lincoln had been in the White House, seventeen years having elapsed since seeing his boyhood home and meeting with his old friends, a gentleman from Gentryville visited him in Washington, his purpose in making the journey being merely to gratify his curiosity and pleasure in beholding the greatness of his old boyhood friend. On his arrival at the White House he found quite a number of people in waiting. He sent in his name, and supposed, of course, that the rule here would be something similar to what he and the then present occupant of the White House had been accustomed to in their boyhood in going to Gordon's Mill—first come, first served. But he was greatly surprised a few moments after making his presence known to hear his name called, and on entering the private office of the President he was warmly greeted with the old time cordiality. They had conversed but a short while when Lincoln said to him:

Now, Bill, there's a whole lot of dignitaries out there (pointing) that are waiting to see me about something or other, and I'll tell you what I want you to do. This is your first visit to Washington, and I reckon you'll want to look around at the sights, so you go and do that and then come back here about supper time and after we've had something to eat we'll go off to ourselves, and I jings we'll have a good time talking over old times.

This appealed to his old friend, and accordingly he returned from viewing the sights of the city toward night-fall and found Lincoln waiting for him. After they had dined Lincoln said: "Now come with me", and leading the way they reached a room on the second floor. After entering, the President turned the key, he then pulled off his coat, and seating himself on the small of his back with his feet resting upon the table he began asking numerous questions concerning his old neighbors. The narrator in telling this, said:

Abe asked about everybody from the mouth of Anderson creek to Boonville. He'd say: "Bill, who did Sis so-and-so marry? Where does this one live? Who lives on such-and-such a farm?" By and by, closing his eyes and drawing a long breath, he said: "Bill, how did the Gentry boys vote in the last election?" I hesitated to tell him, for I know'd ever one of 'em voted for Douglass and were agin him. But finally I out with it, and Abe opened his eyes slow like, and looking straight at me for a little bit he sorter sighed.

The statement made by some of the biographers that Allen Gentry voted for his old flat-boat partner, in spite of the fact that he was a Democrat, is incorrect. The writer, in an interview with James Gentry, referred to this Gentryville neighbor's visit to Lincoln, and Mr. Gentry exclaimed with a laugh:

Yes, Bill told me all about it when he got back from seeing Abe, and he said Abe 'peared to ask about everybody from Anderson clean down to Boonville, but he left us boys to the last. Never even mentioned our names till he asked how we all voted, and when Bill told him we all went agin him, by gum, it mighty nigh broke old Abe's heart. Course, fellows like us goin' agin him would hurt, I reckon, but them was purty stormy times, and we know'd it would take a smart man to run things, and we'd all grow'd up with Abe and while we liked him, and we know'd that Abe could hold his own in a tussle, we didn't think he was big enough to wrastle with such questions that was up then. Besides, by gum, we was all Democrats and believed Judge Douglass could take matters in hand.

When it was suggested that Lincoln managed to keep house pretty well after all, Gentry laughed heartily and said:

O, Abe always tracked the Constitution, and as long as he done that he had 'em. Then he followed Henry Clay in lots of things such as his African Colonization scheme and gradual emancipation and the like, and you know old Henry was purty tolerable hard to head off. So Abe just stood there between all of them fellers and made 'em take their medicine. Abe come out all right in the end, but if he hadn't a stood by the Constitution, and if he'd got off on something else like a whole lot of the rest of 'em did, he'd a never a made it. It was stickin' to the Constitution that done it.

When Wesley Hall was asked as to whether he at any time during his youth was inclined to the belief that Lincoln would some day become famous, he straightway replied:

Abe would have been one of the last ones of our crowd that I'd a ever dreamed about becoming President. I would have picked out one or two

of the boys that was a heap more likely than him. Not but what Abe was smart and all that, but he was so tall, lean, lank and ugly, and went lumbering around so and was always a jokin' and cuttin' up, and I couldn't see anything in him then that looked like my notion of what a President ort to be.

When it was suggested to Hall, by way of provoking further comment, that Lincoln certainly was one of our great men, he exclaimed:

Yes, he is and the greatest too, but what made him so great? I'll tell you, it wusn't because he was educated, for he had no chance down here them days, but Abe just acted up there at Washington like he would anywheres else, and whenever anything comes up he just done what wuz right, that's all. It was nothing but Abe's honesty that made him great, and when you come to think about it that oughn't to be so strange. That's what all of us boys was taught them days, and I think I've been honest myself all of my life, just as honest as Abe ever was fer that matter.

When it was further suggested that Lincoln managed things pretty well and overcame great obstacles, Hall observed:

Yes, that's so, but after all when all is said and done, it always comes back to what I say. Abe always just done what was right about everything, that's all. If somebody else'd been in his place that'd a been as honest as he was and a allus done about what's right, everything'd a come out all right.

The simplicity of Lincoln's life, his democratic spirit, his approachableness, living the life of a commoner while the executive head of the nation, are quite in keeping with his oft expressed partiality for and faith in the common people. He was the very embodiment of the homlier virtues of truth, sincerity and honesty. The temptations ordinarily would have been strong upon one like Lincoln in the heyday of his power either to attempt to conceal his humble beginnings, his poverty and lack of schooling, or on the other hand to have referred boastfully to them. Not the least mark of his greatness is the fact that he did neither. What modesty forbad in this, as in other things, his honesty and good sense approved, so that the democracy of manhood in him shines like a beacon light, dimming the glare of burnished and furbished greatness in the many so-called great men.

General Andrew Jackson has ever been popularly regarded as one possessing that democracy of spirit scarcely equalled by any other chief executive of our nation. It may be altogether fitting in this connection to relate an incident having to do with this element in "Old Hickory". An old Shenandoah Valley neighbor of the writer often related the following circumstance concerning Jackson, and since it seems good enough to be true, and judging by the character and standing of the old neighbor, it is believed to be true.

Some twenty-five teamsters were hauling iron ore to Georgetown from a point in Virginia, each man driving a four-horse team. It was while Jackson was President that on one occasion, after the wagons and teams had been disposed of in the big wagon yards at Georgetown, an uncle of the informant, Baker by name, proposed to the crowd that they go over to the White House and pay their respects to "Old Hickory". Practically all of the men opposed the proposition, since they were in their work-a-day garb, and it was suggested by some that on their next trip they come prepared for this visit to the White House by each bringing along suitable apparel. But Baker was insistent, and so much so that one man, to some extent spokesman for all the rest, said, addressing Baker: "If you'll do all the talking, we'll go." Whereupon Baker replied: "Certainly, I'll do that provided all of you will do what I ask you to do." When it was asked as to what was expected of them, Baker drew his black-snake whip about his neck and tying the free end of the lash into a bow with the stock hanging down in front, not unlike a yoke, said: "Now, men, all of you do as I have and then fall in line by twos and follow me." This was done, and the twenty-five Virginians marched up to the White House, with Baker leading them. When the door opened in response to their ring, an old-time colored man stood looking out upon this strange sight, manifesting surprise, and then bowing quite low he asked what was wanted. Baker, true to his promise, acted as spokesman and straightway requested that the party be taken in and given an audience with the President. The door closed behind the old colored man, and ere long it was opened again, and with another low bow the old fellow announced: "Gemmen, de President's busy and can't

see you." But Baker was not to be disposed of so easily, for now quickly stepping up near the old man and lifting his voice, cried out: "We came to see the President, and we are going to do so before we go away." Just then a voice within, with a sort of military ring in it, was heard asking: "What's the matter out front? What does that crowd of men want?" Presently the door was thrown wide open, sending the old servant with it, and Jackson stood facing Baker and his twenty-four neighbors. The President, without any word of greeting or salutation, immediately asked: "What's wanted, men?" Baker, having uncovered and each man doing so in like manner, replied: "Mr. President, we are Virginians and your friends, and we have no business with you at all save that we just wished to call and see you, that's all." Jackson's brow, which at first was knitted into a frown, at once cleared, and turning about face he said to Baker and his men: "Follow me." Baker leading the way and the men following by twos, each one with his hat under his arm, filed into a "big room on the right." As they entered it was observed that quite a number of well-dressed gentlemen were in the room, and seeing the Virginians following Jackson they all arose and quickly stepped back near the wall with a look of astonishment and wonder upon each face. Jackson did not stop until a small table was reached on the opposite side of the room from the door of entrance, and going behind this and resting his hand upon it with a sort of lurking twinkle in either eye, he said, addressing Baker who now stood immediately in front of him: "You say that you are Virginians and wish to see me. Is there anything I can do for you?" to which Baker replied:

No, sir, Mr. President, we have not come to ask any favor of you, as I said. These men with me are my neighbors. We are all Virginians and your friends and supporters. We are teamsters and haul iron ore to Georgetown, and I proposed that we come over and call on you. Some of the men did not want to come dressed as we are, and I told them we'd go just as you see us."

While Baker was making this explanation it was observed that a peculiar look came over the President's features as if he were especially pleased, and then he said: "You say

you just wished to see the President, and now that you have seen 'Old Hickory' what do you think of him?"

Baker, apparently being equal to just such an emergency as this, quickly observed: "Mr. President, we think he does pretty well for a 'shell bark'." Some of the men composing the party afterward confessed grave fears as to just how this familiarity of their spokesman would be received, but all suspense was quickly relieved by Jackson giving himself up to unrestrained laughter. Straightening up to his full stature, with his features set hard, and looking toward the gentlemen standing about the wall, he said:

Gentlemen, you are all Englishmen and accustomed as you are to certain things, you no doubt gaze with wonder and perhaps surprise upon a scene like this. You very naturally ask what is the secret of our greatness as a nation and how we are going to maintain our liberties. I'll answer you by saying that we have had two wars with your nation, although now we are happily at peace. I had something to do in both of these wars, and I whipped your army at New Orleans with an army composed of men just like these Virginians here, and as long as men in their work-a-day clothes think they have a right to come to the nation's Capitol and call on their ruler, so long will our liberties be safe.

Following these remarks Jackson stepped quickly among the Virginians and taking each by the hand gave words of greeting. General Jackson was quite democratic, hating kings and monarchies, but at the same time possessing more or less of the imperialistic spirit, while Lincoln possessed all of the democracy of Jackson and none of the other spirit.

DEATH AND BURIAL OF NANCY HANKS LINCOLN

"All that I am or ever hope to be I owe to my angel of a mother."

"I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine that would attempt to beguile you from a grief of a loss so overwhelming."

In the year 1818 Abraham Lincoln experienced a great misfortune in the death of his mother. The many exacting duties incident to pioneer life doubtless constituted a factor in producing that strange melancholy that ever possessed him, but to be bereft of his mother at the age of ten was perhaps

in the main responsible for this. At least it justifies the belief that such a sad misfortune at this period of his life, together with some of the attending circumstances, readily took advantage of a latent predisposition so characteristic of his mother.

Comparatively little is known concerning Nancy Hanks and there is small wonder, since nothing eventful transpired in her life beyond those things common to the pioneer. Allusion has already been made to the early belief of her neighbors and her more immediate relatives as to her obscure origin. She certainly did not attempt to correct this belief, and doubtless was possessed with the same idea as were others. That there has been a more or less labored effort on the part of certain biographers of Mr. Lincoln to account for his exceptional ability by professing a marked partiality for his maternal ancestry is known to all.

Dennis Hanks, as reported by Elinor Adkinson in *The Boy Lincoln*, said :

We wus all pore them days, but the Lincolns was poorer than anybody. Choppin' trees an' grubbin' roots an' trappin' didn't leave Tom no time. It wus all he could do to git his family enough to eat an' to kiver 'em. Nancy was terribly ashamed of the way they lived, but she knowed Tom wus doin' his best an' she wusn't the pesterin' kind. She wus purty as a pictur an' smart as you'd find 'em anywhere. She could read and write. The Hankses wus some smarter 'n the Lincolns. Tom thought a heap of Nancy, an' he wus as good to her as he knowd how. He didn't drink or swear or play cyards or fight; an' them wus drinkin,' cussin', quarrelsome days. Tom wus poppler an' he could lick a bully if he had to. He jest couldn't get a head some how.

Mr. Herndon, the friend and law partner of Mr. Lincoln, and later his biographer, in speaking of Lincoln's mother, said :

At the time of her marriage to Thomas Lincoln, Nancy was in her twenty-third year. She was above the ordinary height in stature, weighed about one hundred and thirty pounds; was slenderly built and had much the appearance of one inclined to consumption. Her skin was dark; her hair dark brown, eyes grey and small; forehead prominent, face sharp and angular with an expression of melancholy which fixed itself in the memory of anyone who ever saw or knew her. Though her life was seemingly clouded by a spirit of sadness, she was in disposition amiable and generally cheerful. Mr. Lincoln said to me in 1851, on receiving the

news of his father's death, that whatever might be said of his parents and however unpromising the early surroundings of his mother may have been, she was highly intellectual by nature and had a strong memory, acute judgment, and was cool and heroic. From a mental standpoint she no doubt rose above her surroundings, and had she lived, the stimulus of her nature would have accelerated her son's success. She would have been a much more ambitious prompter than his father ever was.

That Mr. Lincoln possessed the melancholy self-control, cool and calculating judgment and natural goodness of his mother is apparent, and even marks of facial resemblance are conceded. Some certain and important traits of character are also traceable to the father, and taking it all in all these latter qualities are quite as important as were the others. That faculty and habit of story telling so natural to the President, his peculiar and quaint method of relating them and their apparently inexhaustible supply were characteristic of not only his father, but true of his uncles, Mordecai and Josiah, as well as of many of his Lincoln cousins.

Without suggesting any lack in the family of his mother of that greatest of all traits which he possessed—that of honesty—and for which he is so justly famed, it must be said in all fairness that whatever by nature, example and precept he received from the mother that caused a nation to call her son "Honest Abe", certainly honesty was a dominant trait of the father and the one characteristic that stands out so prominently in the life of practically every Lincoln. Dennis Hanks confessed that Lincoln was indebted to his father for his uncompromising honesty rather than to the Hankses.

Judging by the data in hand, therefore, it may be said that the Lincolns were the equal of the Hankses in social standing and ancestry, and in fact there is discerned a favorable comparison in substantially all other things ordinarily considered in such matters.

It should particularly be said that the meagerness of knowledge concerning Nancy Hanks, and more especially her early death, furnished a large field for conjecture and the freest possible play of the imagination. Since Thomas Lincoln lived until the year 1851, having ever remained a simple-minded, illiterate pioneer, never at any time distinguishing

himself, it became the fashion to speak lightly and even disparagingly of him as compared to his wife, Nancy Hanks, who dying while quite young, became a subject for adulation and eulogy, and whatever was deemed wanting in the father and husband was readily supposed to have been possessed by the mother and wife.

That Nancy Hanks was somewhat exceptional and in every way worthy of such an illustrious son appears to be abundantly evident in spite of the meagerness of data at hand. That she must have wielded a strong influence upon him is equally true, and perhaps even greater than we can possibly know. Yet, in all fairness it must be said that Mr. Lincoln seldom mentioned his mother in later life, but again and again paid great tribute to his stepmother and it was the stepmother, not Nancy Hanks, of who he spoke when he used the oft-quoted lines (usually misquoted): "Al that I am and ever hope to be I owe to my angel of a mother."

Any attempt to account for the remarkable career of Abraham Lincoln must give a large place to the plans and purposes of the Almighty. The Jewish nation spent four centuries in a strange land before it produced its great prophet, military leader and law-giver, Moses. We do not ordinarily attempt to account for the career of Moses by emphasizing his lineage and learning so much as we do the fact that God was with him from the time he was placed in the little pitch basket among the bulrushes of the Nile until the day when he climbed the mount to die.

Bishop Charles Fowler, in his lecture on "Abraham Lincoln", related the following incident in the life of the President which transpired when Lincoln was twenty-eight years of age. A short distance from Springfield, Illinois, an old-fashioned camp-meeting was in progress in a grove. A party of seven men, composed of physicians, lawyers and ministers, had decided to attend these services one night.

On this particular occasion Lincoln was in a hilarious mood, joking with the lawyers, preachers and doctors in succession, and even thrusting humorous remarks upon the horses drawing the vehicle in which they were riding. He

kept every one laughing by his stories and "yarns", until the grove was reached.

That evening a pioneer minister preached a sermon of unusual power, occasioning considerable religious excitement. While the discourse throughout was stirring and thoughtful, the peroration was particularly so. In this he referred to Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egyptian bondage, and laid stress upon the fact that God had called him for such a purpose in the fulness of time. Then, as was frequently the case in pulpits of that day, he pronounced a curse upon African slavery in America, prophesying that "the Almighty would raise up a leader to smite this curse." As he closed his remarks he lifted his hands beseechingly, and in a burst of prophetic fervor exclaimed: "Who knows but that the man destined to liberate the slaves in our land is here tonight."

On the return journey of the group, for whom Lincoln had furnished so much amusement and fun, he was strangely silent, so much so as to speak only occasionally when addressed by some member of the party. This silence was noted by all, and elicited more or less comment on the following day. Sometime during the day after the journey taken, one member of the camp-meeting visitors had occasion to call on Lincoln, and found him still gloomy and depressed. Thinking to rally him by some reference to the occurrences of the evening before, he proceeded to do so, and thereupon Lincoln remarked as follows:

You remember, of course, what the preacher said about slavery and in his peroration that "God would raise up a man to smite slavery", and closed by saying: "Who knows but that he is here tonight." Well, you and others may thing me foolish, but I had the conviction then and still have it that I am that man.

At the time of the death of Lincoln's mother there was mourning in practically every home of the entire neighborhood, for that dread disease peculiar to the pioneer days, known as milk-sick, had appeared in epidemic form and attacked beasts as well as men. Thomas and Betsy Sparrow, who had in part reared Nancy Hanks, and who had followed the Lincolns to Indiana, living in the abandoned half faced camp, were both stricken with this scourge and died

about the same time Mrs. Lincoln did. In fact, of the twenty-five families in this settlement, many of whom were former Kentucky neighbors of the Lincolns, more than half were claimed by this strange malady.

Medical assistance was not to be had nearer than thirty miles; and even had there been sufficient attention, it is altogether doubtful whether the ravages of this destroyer of the pioneers could have been arrested.

One may form some idea of the extent to which the pioneers were governed by stern necessity when it is recalled that Thomas Lincoln, the husband, on the death of his wife was forced to perform a part of the offices of an undertaker. There being no one save himself in that community sufficiently skilled with tools to construct a coffin, he did this, and at the same time made coffins in which to bury Thomas and Betsy Sparrow. He was not a stranger to this kind of work, since he was in the habit of doing it for the entire community. The lumber with which the coffin for Nancy Hanks Lincoln was made was whipsawed out of a log unused in the building of the wilderness cabin. Dennis Hanks and Thomas Lincoln sawed the planks, and while they were thus engaged, Abraham whittled out the wooden pins which the elder Lincoln used to fasten the planks together, there being no nails in this part of the world at that time.

The writer knew two persons who were present at the funeral of Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Her burial, which took place a few hundred yards to the south of the cabin home, was denied even the usual committal services, there being no officiating minister present. Indeed, at this time there was no church or minister nearer than thirty miles.

The writer on one occasion had pointed out to him the spot near the foot of the grave where little Abraham stood weeping while the rude casket was being lowered. The Reverend Allen Brooner, then a mere lad, was present on this occasion. He lost his own mother a few days after the burial of Mrs. Lincoln and she was buried by the side of Lincoln's mother; consequently the circumstances became indelibly fixed in his memory. No stone marked these graves for years, and when it was proposed to erect a small monument to the

memory of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, there was some difference of opinion as to which of the two graves was hers, but the statement of Brooner was final.

Although Abraham was but ten years of age at this time, yet impressed with the fact that his mother's memory was entitled to the usual funeral services that he had been accustomed to witness, he wrote a letter requesting the services of Parson Elkins, an itinerant Baptist minister who resided in Kentucky, and who had visited the home of the Lincolns in that State, frequently conducting services there and doubtless officiated at the burial of his baby brother. At any rate, Elkins had impressed himself upon the mind and heart of the lad so that he did not hesitate to presume upon his good offices by asking that he travel a hundred miles through this wilderness.

The boy's confidence in thus presuming upon the willingness of the pioneer preacher to come to him in his need was not misplaced, for although he made this journey and preached the funeral discourse at the grave side without remuneration, yet, like Mary in breaking the alabaster box of precious ointment, Parson Elkins' offices on this occasion have enshrined his memory in the hearts of Christendom and his name by this one deed alone has been redeemed from that oblivion to which it would have otherwise been consigned.

One may stand at the grave side of the mother of Lincoln today, look through the woods to the north and see the little knoll on which then stood the cabin where now looms up with comparatively large dimensions a high school building immediately in front of the cabin site—an institution that would have been regarded by Lincoln in his youth as Heaven sent.

Marked changes have been wrought since that mournful pioneer funeral procession took its sad way down the slope and through the wood to the elevated spot where his mother sleeps. In making this little journey now one crosses the steam railroad track, passes beneath the telephone and telegraph wires, and walks by the mouth of a coal mine—all telling of another civilization and another age, for they all came after Lincoln's removal to Illinois.

It is claimed, and not without sufficient grounds, that the place where the future President spent his youth and reached his majority, and where he formed and matured his character, possessing as he did while yet a youth substantially all of those eminent traits that we are accustomed to note in him as a man, that place where his mother now sleeps and where his only sister lies buried, is of the greatest possible interest, and in view of such world-wide admiration of Lincoln it is deserving of suitable recognition by our general government.

The State of Indiana some years since, aided by individuals, erected a modest monument to the memory of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, the mother of the President, and made purchase of the grounds adjoining her burial place which now constitute what is known as Lincoln park.

As commendable as was this belated tribute, unfortunately the site of the cabin home of Lincoln was not included in this purchase and this place yet remains in the hands of private individuals. Should there come a time (and it will) when this spot shall have been appropriately honored beyond that hitherto attempted, and some President of the United States in official capacity shall journey thither and deliver an address, if perchance in the course of his remarks he should give utterance to some such sentiment as the following, he would only be speaking true to history:

Here on this spot in the year 1816 Thomas Lincoln erected a log cabin in which was reared his son Abraham, our first typical American, who in temperamental make up, in certain marked characteristics, in the simplicity of his life and character, was the embodiment of those traits of honesty and truthfulness which pre-eminently characterized the pioneer Hoosier citizen. Three States of our Union had to do in shaping his destiny and fashioning his great career. Kentucky gave him birth, in the day of his power Illinois offered him to the country in the hour of the Nation's crisis; but it was here in Indiana that these enduring traits of character found their setting, without which he would have failed in his gigantic task, and, possessing them as he did, they later fashioned him into a mighty leader destined under God to give this nation a new birth of freedom, that "the government of the people for the people and by the people might not perish from the earth."

In a year after the death of Mrs. Lincoln, Thomas Lincoln made a visit to his old home in Kentucky, leaving Dennis

Hanks, Abraham and his sister Sarah in the wilderness. The motive in making this visit became apparent to those remaining behind when on his return he brought with him a bride and her three children, Matilda, Sarah and John D. Johnson, children by a former marriage. The second Mrs. Lincoln, who was destined to wield a remarkable influence over the future President, was a woman somewhat above the average pioneer. Her coming to this destitute home was timely, since Abraham had now reached that age when he stood in need of just such encouragement and sympathy as she was eminently capable of giving and which she freely bestowed upon him.

In an interview with Mr. Herndon she said, in speaking of this period and of Abraham in particular:

I induced my husband to permit Abe to read and study at home as well as at school. At first he was not easily reconciled to it, but finally he seemed willing to encourage him to a certain extent. Abe was a dutiful son to me always. We took particular care when he was reading not to disturb him, and we let him read on and on until he quit of his own accord.

Notwithstanding the fact that Mrs. Lincoln had been left a widow, and at the time of her marriage to Thomas Lincoln was living "on an alley of the town in a log cabin," she was highly regarded by her neighbors and possessed a pride and bearing quite beyond that which her condition would ordinarily appear to warrant. The proud spirit that characterized her then was never broken by any of the vicissitudes of her later years. She was quite superior in many ways to her husband. Her gifts and graces were so pronounced as to call forth in later years splendid tributes of praise from both her own children and her step son. The changes wrought in the wilderness cabin home soon after her coming occasioned neighborhood comment, and made such an impression upon Dennis Hanks, an inmate of the home and later her son-in-law, as to cause that gentleman to pay her grateful praise.

Aside from the refinement and culture which she possessed, tending to inspire her household to emulate her, she caused her husband to make certain needful changes in the cabin by hanging a door, laying a floor and cutting a win-

dow. She brought with her certain household effects, such as beds, bedding, bureau, many cooking utensils, knives and forks—in all a four horse wagon load, so that there is small wonder the cheerless cabin took on new life and caused Abraham in later life, when recalling these scenes, to say: "She made me feel like I was human."

It is claimed that at this time young Abraham was a good boy, affectionate, loving his parents well and obedient to their every wish. Although anything but impudent or rude, he was sometimes uncomfortably inquisitive when strangers would ride along or pass by his father's fence, and he always, either through boyish pride or to tease his father, would be sure to ask the first question. For this his father would sometimes knock him over, but when thus punished he never "bellowed, but would drop a kind of silent unwelcome tear as evidence of his sensitiveness or other feelings."

So inquisitive and eager for news was he that on one occasion when a stranger rode up to the Lincoln home to make inquiries as to the road Abraham straightway asked: "What's the news, stranger?" Before any reply could be made the father, who was attempting to give proper directions of the way, turned and rebuked his son for his interruption. In a moment or two young Abraham again asked: "Stranger, what's the news where you come from?" This time the indignant father, desiring to silence the inquisitive son, quickly swung his arm, struck the boy full in the mouth with the back of the hand, knocking him down. Young Lincoln, on regaining his feet and perching himself at a safe distance on the fence, as the stranger was drawing rein preparatory to ride on his way, once more eagerly asked: "I say, stranger, what is the news?"

During his Indiana residence up to the time of his mother's death, Abraham Lincoln had not been privileged to attend school. Soon after the coming of his step mother to the home he was sent to school, his first teacher being Mr. Dorsey who "kept school" not far from the Little Pigeon church. In all he attended three different sessions or terms during his Indiana residence, one at ten years of age, another at fourteen and a very brief term during his seventeenth

year. The entire time thus spent in the school room was less than one year during his life, and he was indebted to his step mother for the privilege of attending school at all after reaching an age when such an opportunity might reasonably promise profit. Such privilege was accompanied by a keen appreciation and gratitude that enabled him richly to repay her in later years for her kindness and partiality. The debt that mankind owes this elect lady can never now be paid save in grateful remembrance of her timely foresight, and thankfulness for wisdom and direction perhaps not altogether of Earth. From the first Lincoln and his step-mother became great friends. In her old age she expressed a decided partiality for him, even indicating a love beyond that for her own son.

Lincoln's great stature and lumbering gait were a subject of neighborhood comment, and Mrs. Lincoln and his father often joked him concerning them also. The elder Lincoln was in the habit of remarking that "Abe looked like he had been chopped out with an ax and needed the jack plane to smooth him down." Mrs. Lincoln said to him on one occasion when she saw him "bump" his head as he came through the cabin door: "Abe, I don't care much about the mud you carry in on the floor, for that can be scrubbed, but you must be careful with my whitewashed ceiling and not damage it." The next day young Lincoln hunted up a crowd of youngsters, and after causing them to wade through a pond of muddy water, he marched them to the Lincoln cabin, picked them up one by one and made them walk across the ceiling with their muddy feet. When Mrs. Lincoln came home and noted the condition of the ceiling she laughed right heartily. Abraham then walked a long distance after lime, prepared whitewash, and once more made the cabin ceiling immaculate.

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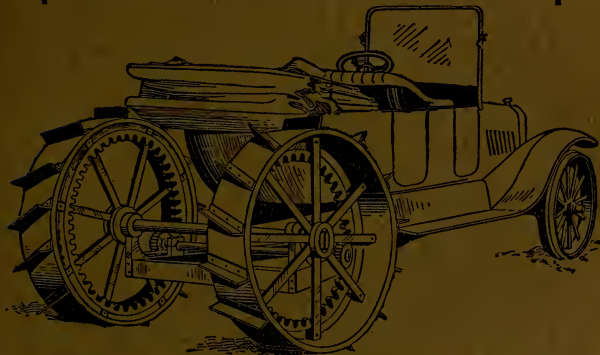
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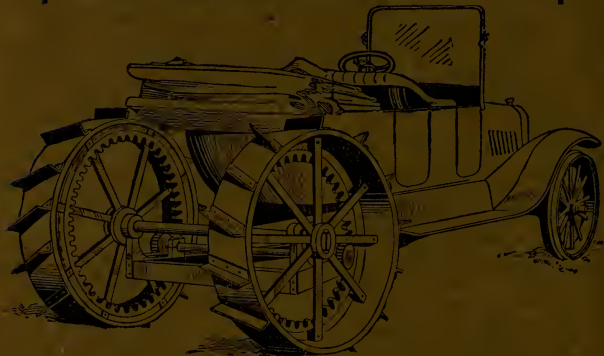
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Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War

By MAYO FESLER

I INTRODUCTION

The history of a secret political society is difficult to unravel. Especially is this true of a secret political organization whose principles have been condemned as pernicious and treasonable by a large majority of the people and whose records have been destroyed in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of government officials. The difficulty is materially increased when the feeling against such societies is so violent as to lead, not only the press, but public officials, as well, to make strangely extravagant statements in their reports concerning the operations of the societies.

In an attempt to determine their extent, purpose, and influence, the writer was confronted with a combination of difficulties. In the first place, men who were members of these orders, or members of the party from which the orders recruited their ranks, either denied the existence of any such societies, or minimized their extent and importance; while men who were opposed to their principles, were inclined to magnify the dangers resulting from their operations and attribute to them a treason worse than rebellion. The excitement of the Civil war times prevented men from taking a moderate view of such matters. It was a period of strong

partisan feeling. There were few who could see any middle ground between intense patriotism and active disloyalty; between devotion to the union and sympathy for secession; between a "peace democrat" and a "hissing copperhead". The bitter animosities then existing seemed to confound all distinctions. "He that is not for us is against us" was interpreted in its most literal sense. And so, Democrats, Copperheads, Butternuts, Knights of the Golden Circle, Sons of Liberty and rebels, were jumbled into one hodge-podge of "hissing traitors". As a result, all the material bearing upon the history of these societies, official documents as well as unofficial, must be weighed in the light of these peculiarly intense times.

The student might expect that the lapse of fifty years would tend to soften and dissolve these extreme views, and that survivors of those days could now recall the exciting events with less of partisan bias; but it is not the case. Most of these men, who are still living, retain the bitter animosities which characterized the days of the rebellion, and all attempts to secure from them a moderate estimate of these societies have failed. Some five hundred letters of inquiry, containing lists of definite questions, were sent to these survivors, representative men of both parties in all sections of the country; and probably half as many personal conferences were held. The information thus obtained contains little of real historical value. In reply to the questions, "What was the avowed purpose of the order", "The relations of the political parties in your community to the order", and "The character of the membership"? the supporters of the Republican party uniformly reply, in substance, "The order which was composed entirely of Democrats, had for its avowed purpose the overthrow of the government and the lending of assistance to the southern rebels." The members of the Democratic party reply, "The avowed purpose of the order which was composed of the riffraff of the Democratic party, was the protection of the rights of the citizen against the usurpation and tyranny of the Republican administration". Many who were known to be members of the order, refused to give any information whatever concerning its operations. The effort was made

in a number of cases to secure statements from these men through relatives, or close friends; but the odium which attached itself to the societies, and that peculiar sense of obligation which men have for secret vows even though the society in which they were taken may have long since become extinct, have made even these indirect efforts of little avail.

The failure to obtain reliable information from these survivors, however, did not materially affect the scope of this investigation, for there still remained a mass of valuable contemporary source material in the form of newspapers, manuscripts in the state department at Washington, the War of the Rebellion Official Records, the official records of the several trials before military commissions, and numerous diaries and biographies of men of the time. All of this source material was carefully scanned and analyzed in the effort to reach a fair estimate of the extent and influence of these secret societies which so disturbed the loyal people in the States bordering on the Mason and Dixon line during the trying days of the Civil war. This study has resulted in the following narrative and conclusions.

The plan, at first, contemplated maps and tables showing the distribution and number of the lodges, but exact numerical details, it was found, could not be obtained in sufficient quantity for such an exhibit. Therefore in this direction no attempt at anything beyond an approximation has been made. The result, then, of this investigation is an estimation of the importance of the secret associations on the struggle of 1861 to 1865, rather than an exhaustive, detailed account of their operations.

2. ORIGIN OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN CIRCLE

In July, 1863, there appeared at the headquarters of Gen. William S. Rosecrans in central Tennessee a surgeon from the Confederate army who gave his name as Dr. George W. L. Bickley and requested permission to pass through the lines to his home in Cincinnati. He excused his Confederate uniform and his presence in the Confederate army by saying that he was caught in the south at the outbreak of the war and was forced to join the southern army as a surgeon in order to get

through the lines. The federal authorities granted him a pass but not without some suspicion as to his real character. They stipulated that on his way home he must travel by way of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and make no stops between Memphis and Cincinnati.

Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, then commanding at Cincinnati, was informed by telegram that Dr. Bickley was on his way north under pass from General Rosecrans and that it might be well to watch his movements. Instead of fulfilling the stipulation to go directly to Cincinnati Bickley stopped off at New Albany, Indiana. The authorities were notified of this and General Boyle at Louisville was directed to watch him and, if he deemed it advisable, arrest him. On July 17 Bickley and his wife were put under arrest at New Albany and their baggage seized. An examination of their persons and effects revealed sufficient evidence to prove that Dr. Bickley was no other than the originator of the secret political order known as "The Knights of the Golden Circle", which was at that time causing such apprehension along the border. On the person of Mrs. Bickley was found the great seal of the order bearing the emblem of a Maltese cross surmounted by a star and encircled by the inscription, "Great Seal of the K's of the G.C., 1856". With the seal was found a number of metal stars, emblems of the order. In Bickley's trunk, among a number of incriminating papers and letters, were found several copies of a pamphlet containing the "Rules, Regulations and Principles" of the order; a newspaper clipping from the *Richmond Whig* containing an "Open Letter" of George Bickley, "K.G.C., President of American Legion", dated July 17, 1860; a key to the grips, signs, passwords, etc., of the Knights of the Golden Circle; a copy of a letter from George Bickley to the secretary of war of the Confederate States offering to furnish a mounted brigade; and a card on which was engraved a Confederate flag with the three letters, K.G.C. printed in bold type across the bars. Above and below the flag were the words "General George Bickley, Mexico and a United South".¹

This evidence strengthened by the sworn statements of

¹ "Papers relating to the case of George W. L. Bickley", found in the Judge Advocate General's office, contain most of material for Chapter I. References to them will be indicated by the abbreviation "Bickley Papers".

two witnesses regarding their acquaintance with Bickley was deemed sufficient to justify his imprisonment. On August 18 he was transferred without trial to the State penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, where he was held until March 20, 1864. He was then taken to Fort Lafayette where he remained until March, 1865. From there he was transferred to Fort Warren where he was held until his release in October of that year.

During his incarceration Bickley made numerous efforts to secure his release. He wrote to General Burnside in Cincinnati, to Gen. John A. Dix in New York, to Secretary of War Stanton, and finally to the President, imploring their interposition in his behalf. In all the communications he admitted his connection with the Knights of the Golden Circle, "an order which was established for the purpose of colonizing Mexico", but denied that it had any relation to the secret political order known by that name, then existing in the border States. Inquiries were sent out from the office of the secretary of war to officials acquainted with the character of the prisoner to learn the reasons for his detention. The reply in each case was that Bickley is a dangerous man and should not be released during the continuance of the rebellion. In the report from the judge-advocate general's office, reviewing the case, Bickley is alluded to as "the chief of the treasonable association known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, an officer in the rebel army, a conspicuously disloyal individual", and "a most mischievous as well as dangerous character", and "his personal restraint is, for these reasons, advised".²

The arrest and incarceration of Bickley was not in itself a matter of particular moment—his was only one of the numerous military arrests made during the summer of 1863. But his relations to the secret order of the Knights of the Golden Circle made his arrest a matter of more than local interest, since at that moment the operations of the order were causing considerable uneasiness in the border States and arousing serious apprehensions in the minds of many supporters of the union cause.

From the beginning of the struggle there had been considerable opposition to the war in the north, but particularly

² Bickley Papers, A. A. Hosmer, acting Judge Advocate to Secretary Stanton, July 17, 1865.

along the border where the influence of southern social and political ideas was strong. This opposition had gradually increased with the progress of the war and its attending severities. Every new call for troops, every new draft, every defeat of the union armies, and every military arrest brought forth another groan from the opponents of the administration. The disaffected element, which at no time had been in sympathy with the war, felt more and more the burden of taxation and the numerous restraints placed upon their liberties by the State and federal governments. These were made all the more unbearable when imposed by soldiers and officers of the administration—men from their own communities who keenly enjoyed the emotions of authority and dominance. Moreover, they witnessed in their midst the organization of a semi-secret order called the "Union League", whose purpose, as they viewed it, was the rendering of assistance to the already tyrannical government in the enforcement of its tyrannical measures. These experiences, coupled with an already strong prejudice against the party in power, and, in many cases, a close sympathy with the cause of the southern States, led many into more than open protest against the administration—into secret organization, which under a strict interpretation of the constitution might be classed as "giving aid and comfort to the enemy". Whether or not this secret opposition should prove formidable, depended upon the organizing ability of the leaders and their courage. But the fact that their movements were secret and that their plans were maturing at a time when the most sanguine supporter of the union was depressed with a feeling of doubt as to the fate of the nation, made the danger seem a real one and caused the patriots to regard their machinations with a deep solicitude.

The secret political and military societies, popularly known as the "Knights of the Golden Circle", "Knights of the Columbian Star", "Order of American Knights", and "Sons of Liberty", were scattered over a number of the central and western States. They were strongly intrenched in southern California;³ a number of lodges were reported in Michigan

³ *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. L, Part II., p. 938. Reference to these records will be indicated by the abbreviation *O. R.*

and Iowa; sworn statements by officers of the order indicated their existence in New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware; in several counties in Pennsylvania prosperous and active lodges were discovered; one lodge was reported in what was then Washington territory;⁴ even as far north as Boston the secret agents of the organizations attempted to gain a foothold. These societies, however, were most prosperous in the border States along the Ohio and Mississippi regions which had been settled largely by immigrants from the mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee, and other sections of the seceding States.

The actual membership of the various societies will never be known. No correct and complete files were kept and the meager information in the hands of local State secretaries was destroyed when the plans of the order were exposed in 1864. Various estimates have been made by leading members and by government officials who were engaged in ferreting out their plans. C. E. Dunn, second in command of the order in Missouri, in a sworn statement before Provost Marshal Sanderson at St. Louis in July, 1864, declared the membership of the American Knights in that State to be 100,000; in Illinois, 100,000; in Indiana, 125,000; in Ohio, 40,000; in Michigan, 20,000 to 25,000.⁵ In southern California alone the membership was estimated at 24,000, while the order could control at least 50,000 men.⁶ In conference with the Confederate agents in Canada in 1864, Mr. Clement L. Vallandigham represented the strength of the Sons of Liberty at 300,000, of whom 85,000 were in Illinois; 50,000 in Indiana; and 40,000 in Ohio.⁷ In a speech at Dayton, in the summer of 1863, he placed the number at 500,000, which Judge Advocate Holt, in his report concerning "Secret Associations and Conspiracies against the Government", says "is much nearer the true total".⁸

These secret associations bore different names in different sections and at different periods of the war. In St. Louis the organization was called at one time "Corps de Belgique"; in

⁴ O. R. I, Vol. L, pt. II, p. 1056.

⁵ O. R. II, Vol. VII, p. 629.

⁶ O. R. I, Vol. L, pt. II, p. 940.

⁷ *The Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 206.

⁸ O. R. II, Vol. VII, p. 930.

Chicago "The Democratic Invincible Club"; in Louisville "The Democratic Reading Room"; in California the "Knights of the Columbian Star". In other localities they were known as the "Knights of the Mighty Host", "Knights of the Circle of Honor" and "Mutual Protection Society". But the names by which they were generally known were "Knights of the Golden Circle", "Order of American Knights", and "Sons of Liberty". While it cannot be definitely proven that one is the parent organization and the others the offspring, yet they follow each other so closely in time and purpose, and are composed of so nearly the same element in the membership that the popular mind has been justified in thinking them one and the same in almost every particular except the name.

The parent association "The Knights of the Golden Circle", as has been noted, had its origin in the fertile brain of Dr. George W. L. Bickley, a practicing physician, a professor of materia medica in the Eastern Medical college of Cincinnati, and a professor of medical jurisprudence in the Ohio Law school. Bickley was a man of more than ordinary literary ability, as shown by the papers found on his person when he was captured. He wrote much and was for a time editor and publisher of a magazine.⁹ He no doubt kept himself well informed on public questions which in the decade before the war were so seriously disturbing the country. One of his chief characteristics seems to have been a tendency to evolve elaborate schemes on paper, one of which was this secret order of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

In 1854 when the visionary William S. Walker was planning his filibustering project in Lower California, and the whole country, especially, the south, was disturbed by various projects of this kind, the Knights of the Golden Circle was organized in Cincinnati and started on its career by the inauguration of lodges in that city and in two small towns in that section of the State. Its object as stated in the ritual was the "entire and speedy conquest of Mexico and the establishment of a separate and independent nation upon such a basis as to render it subservient to the march of American civiliza-

⁹ *The American Cavalier*, a military journal devoted to the extension of American civilization—only one copy seen.

tion". In justification of this object the "rules" laid down the doctrine that

Each and every American citizen has a right to denationalize himself and become a citizen of any other nation, and he has the unquestionable right (when once there) to rebel against the existing government (as in the case of Texas) and attempt the establishment of a new government. . . . When a nation has lost its nationality—where society has given up its existence—then the territory so occupied is thrown open to adventurers from civilized nations and may be seized by them for the purpose of Christian civilization.¹⁰

Mexico, they assured themselves, was in this sad state and, therefore, open to christian domination.

The "rules, regulations and principles" which were to govern the order were issued by the "Congress of the K.C.S. (Knights Commanders South), and the General President" from the headquarters at Washington, D.C. They provided for two sections, the Mexican Legion and the American Legion. Bickley was commander-in-chief of the American Legion and the General President. The regulations provided for civil and military departments; but since the object of the order was the invasion and conquest of foreign territory, the military department received most attention. The laws for its government provided that the American Legion

Shall consist of four divisions, each perfect within itself, each commanded by a marshal, who shall be responsible to the commander-in-chief.

There were to be divisions consisting of two brigades; brigades of two regiments; and regiments of companies; after the plan of the the existing military system in the United States army.

Provision was made for cavalry and artillery companies. Salaries for officers and enlisted men were specified. In addition to the salaries grants of land were promised. Enlisted men were to receive 640 acres; lieutenants, 960 acres; captains, 1,280 acres; majors, 2,560 acres; marshals, 2,880 acres; and the commander-in-chief, 3,200 acres. Each member was required to take an oath to support and sustain the government established by the American Legion and its legal repre-

¹⁰ Art. 38, *The Rules, Regulations and Principles* is a pamphlet of some fifty pages. Only two copies known to be preserved—one in State Department, the other in War Department, Washington, D. C.

sentatives. He was also required to obligate himself "not to do anything which in his judgment would be contrary to the best interest of the United States of America", and to "protect and defend the same against any foreign power whatsoever". Further, "If at any time the United States should become involved in a foreign war the services of the legion shall be promptly tendered to the United States government, and in no instance will the legion be allowed to take up arms against the United States".

There were three degrees in the order.¹¹ The First or Company degree was a purely military one given to every member of the legion who was to bear arms. It insisted upon secrecy, true allegiance, and obedience to the K.G.C. The Second or Brigade degree was practically the same as the First except that it was not administered to the company at large, but only to the non-commissioned officers, and stated clearly the full purpose of the order, namely, "the conquest of Mexico and the establishment of a civilized government in the conquered territory". The Third or Division degree was taken only by the commissioned officers who were to become a part of the army council. In this degree the detailed plan of campaign of the 55 (K.G.C.) was set forth as follows:

All companies are to move so as to reach 17 and 18 on a given day. The city and federal authorities of those places are already pledged to assist us off. Our arms, munitions, and material having been previously sent there from the several depots. All will be shipped together and form one solid fleet, with sufficient armament to beat off any interfering power. Eight and 9 have each promised us a frigate as convoys, and we must have a good steamer of our own. Our landing point must be 2.¹² As soon as our independence is recognized, we will then throw open our ports and invite immigration.

Finally after all had rebelled and come over to them they would control the Gulf and the destinies of 12.¹²

The Articles of War for the government of the K.G.C. contained the following oath to which every soldier and officer was compelled to subscribe:

I, ———, of my own free will, do solemnly swear or affirm (as the case may be) that I will bear true allegiance to the K.G.C. and its lawful

¹¹ *Degree Book*, a separate pamphlet of only a few pages in extent.

¹² It is not known to what places these figures refer. The key found with the papers does not fit the numbers. 12 evidently means Mexico.

officers, and I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies, and I will never desert my brethren in arms, but I will protect them and their interests as far as I possibly can; and I will do no act knowingly in violation of the laws of the K.G.C. I will support the government established by my brothers in arms and their officers.

The regulations contained provisions for the organization of castles in all parts of the country and also a long list of social and political maxims which were generalities of no particular import. Mention was made of a colonization and steamship company which was to furnish the capital necessary to carry out the designs of the K.G.C.

It will be seen from these extracts that the purpose of the organization at the time of its inauguration was filibustering pure and simple. No statement in the ritual or degree book can be interpreted as indicating treason to the government of the United States. In fact, the members were bound to defend the government against any foreign power. The association might involve the United States in serious international difficulties, but this could not be called treason; and evidently there was no treasonable intention in the mind of the founder, when he conceived the principles embodied in this new secret society.

General Bickley, after his arrest and incarceration at Fort Lafayette, New York Harbor, in 1864, insisted that the policy of the K.G.C. to Americanize and incorporate Mexico and the United States into one common republic was not treason, but was "the offspring of that generally accepted policy known as the Monroe Doctrine which has become as much a part of Americanism as our theory of republican government."¹³ Concerning the filibustering aspect of the society he wrote in the same letter:

But, sir, you may say the whole scheme was a secession filibusterism. I beg to say that secession was the bane of the organization, and that so far as its filibustering aspect goes, my country is guiltier than I. We commenced filibustering at Plymouth Rock, at Jamestown, at Roanoke Island, under the leadership of the Pilgrim Fathers . . . ; we filibustered the red men out of their ancestral domain and built up an empire of Christian civilization that has merited and received the admiration of mankind; we filibustered Spain out of the Floridas, France out of Louisiana Territory,

¹³ Bickley Papers. Bickley to Stanton, Jan. 16, 1865.

Mexico out of Texas, and, at a later day, out of California; so that if I am a filibusterer my country is my tutor.

It is not known by what method or at what time General Bickley set about to extend the organization. According to his own statements, sometime before the outbreak of the war he went south to settle his mother's estate. His brother-in-law, Eli Kinney,¹⁴ says that before the outbreak of the War Bickley had left his wife and was in the south. Judging from the document which was found among his effects when captured, and from the rapid extension of the order in the south and especially in Texas, General Bickley must have devoted most of his time after 1854 to the propagation of this filibustering association. In September, 1859, he issued from Washington, D.C., as "Headquarters of the American Legion K.G.C.", a proclamation in which he proposed the invasion of Mexico by a new and vigorous race, and appealed to the young men of the country by declaring that the K.G.C. opened for them a new field of industry and enterprise. "This continent," he said, "belongs to one people; that people is the Anglo-American." The extent to which this proclamation was made public can not be ascertained.

The first definite information of a public nature regarding the order is found in the *Mobile Mercury* of April 6, 1860. In this issue appeared a general order from the commander which indicates, to some extent, the spread of the society and its seeming strength in the south. The general order, No. 546, called for a meeting of the delegates, of the various lodges or castles¹⁵ at Raleigh, North Carolina, for May 7, 1860, at which time the following business would be transacted: election of a permanent commander of the military department of the K.G.C., a financial secretary, and a president of the governing department; the determination of the equipment and the time of motion; and the preparation of an address to the people of the southern States.

The call stated that no political or religious question then disturbing the country would be entertained by the convention. When the business of the session was completed they were to

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, sworn statement of Eli Kinney before provost marshal.

¹⁵ Local lodges were called "Castles" or "Temples".

adjourn "to meet no more as a convention in the United States."

The *Mercury*, in an editorial of the same date, says of this call:

General George Bickley, through our columns today, issues a general order to the members of his organization. The papers of the south are respectfully requested to extend the order as a matter of service and favor to thousands who belong to the order throughout the southern States. The purpose of this order has been so far revealed as to vindicate it from the suspicion of filibusterism, and to commend it to the favor of thousands who cherish all objects calculated to redound to the glory and interest of our beloved south.

When General Bickley in the call stated that the political questions about to divide the north and south were to have no place in the deliberations at Raleigh, he intended either to blind the eyes of the north as to the true purpose of the meeting, or he had not estimated accurately the state of mind of the membership, as indicated in the address issued to the people of the south at the close of the session.

This address¹⁶ declared that the possession of Mexico by the south was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of political equality in the union. It contained an eloquent description of the fruitfulness of Mexico, the fertility of her soil, her undeveloped capacity for the production of cotton, sugar and tobacco, the suitableness of her climate for slave labor, the enormous wealth of the Romish church, and the advantage of confiscating three hundred million dollars to the use of the K.G.C. It estimated the entire membership of the order at 48,000, and the military force at 18,000. It declared the plans of the K.G.C., in regard to Mexico, to be temporarily postponed but not abandoned; and concluded with the statement:

"That the southern governor will have use for us in the next six months is confidently expected. If so, the K.G.C. may find its Mexico in the District of Columbia.

This address indicates a very decided change in the policy of the organization. The change is further emphasized by an open letter to the K.G.C.'s in the *Richmond Whig* of July 7,

¹⁶ *An Authentic Exposition of the Knights of the Golden Circle*, pamphlet published by U. S. National U.C., Feb., 1862.

1860, in which General Bickley urged the south to assist in carrying out the plans of the order. He argued that the county was divided into two parts—northern and southern—and that reconciliation was impossible. "With Mexico Americanized and southernized, the south will equal in territory the north." He pleaded with the slave-holders to lend financial assistance to the movement, promising them that

No more negroes will be spirited away on the famous Underground Railroad. There will not be a free negro in the southern States in 1870, and your cotton production will be fifteen instead of five million bales.

This same letter contained the names of a number of citizens from various sections of the south, and the names of banks in six different cities in these States to which donations could be sent. It also stated that donations could be sent directly to Colonel N. J. Scott of Auburn, Alabama, who was paymaster general and financial secretary of the organization.

The long list of names and the various banks mentioned to which funds could be sent, indicate that the order by 1860 was pretty well represented in the several slave States. The ritual issued in 1859 asserted that in September of that year, there were 250 working castles embracing 15,000 members, and that at least two-thirds of these expected to go to Mexico with the expedition. There is no evidence to prove this estimate false and none to substantiate it. Careful investigation has been made in the south, but insufficient evidence has been found to warrant any definite statement as to the extent of the order, further than that it existed in Kentucky, Arkansas, Alabama, and Texas; the latter State being the most fertile field for its growth.

The rapid development of the society in Texas can be accounted for by its geographical position. Bordering on Mexico, that State was naturally the drill ground for filibustering expeditions. Here such schemes could find a most loyal and enthusiastic support. From here such expeditions could most advantageously invade Mexico. Moreover, the unsettled condition of politics in that State and the antagonism between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery elements added an influence in favor of a secret political organization.

The headquarters of the K.G.C. in Texas were at San

Antonio¹⁷ where two lodges or castles were established. A castle was organized in almost every county.¹⁸ General Bickley took an active personal interest in the society in this State. The funds of the order were applied to the purchase of arms, accoutrements, and ammunition. It was estimated on good authority that 8,000 well equipped men could be brought into the field on four days' notice. When first established in Texas, in 1856, the intention of the organization was simply and solely that of a filibustering expedition into Mexico; but in 1860 when the question of secession was before the people of the State, the order became the instrument for the defense of slavery in Texas. Although the membership was really insignificant when compared to the voting population of the State, its perfect organization and its vow of secrecy made the society strong enough in Texas to control the policy of the Democratic party in the election of 1860.

Nothing further is known concerning the history of the order prior to the outbreak of the war, except that during those days when the southern States were organizing themselves into a confederacy the Knights of the Golden Circle was a subject of frequent comment in the Confederate capitol at Montgomery.¹⁹ It is manifest, however, that the society could have no place as a filibustering scheme in the midst of the great and all-absorbing movement of secession. Nor was there any place for its operations in the heart of the Confederacy, even as an organization in sympathy with secession, for secret societies find no soil where the people are so unanimously of one opinion. The only field in which it could operate successfully as an ally of the confederacy or as an opponent of the federal administration was the immediate territory on each side of the Mason and Dixon line where the sentiment of the people was about equally divided between the north and the south, and where bitter local animosities were greatly intensified by this division of sentiment on national issues.

¹⁷ Moore's *Rebellion Records*, Vol. XII, p. 110. Paper read before N.Y. Hist. Society, June 25, 1861, by Maj. J. T. Sprague.

¹⁸ Williams, *Life of Sam Houston*, 129.

¹⁹ Wm. Howard Russell, *"My Diary North and South"*, 185. Russell was correspondent for the *London Times* and wrote from Montgomery, Ala., May 5, 1861: "I hear a good deal about the Association called the Knights of the Golden Circle."

General Bickley, as has been pointed out in the preceding chapter, declared, prior to the Charleston meeting of the representatives of the order, that his organization had no designs hostile to the government; that he intended to avoid the political questions then disturbing the entire country; and that his sole purpose was the acquisition of foreign territory by force of arms, and the introduction into that territory of immigrants from the southern States. The manifesto of the Charleston meeting, however, indicated clearly the sympathy of the organization for the southern cause. The general, a man with more of personal and selfish interest than devotion to a principle, seemed perfectly willing to accept this change of view and to alter the constitution of the order so that it would express this sympathy. All that was needed was a slight change in the ritual. In 1861 this change was made and the rules, regulations, and principles were made to declare that the acquisition of territory in Mexico had, for its primary purpose, the extension of slavery and the political equality of free and slave States.

The First degree of the remodeled ritual reads in part:¹

The first field of our operation is Mexico, but we hold it to be our duty to offer our services to any southern State to repel a northern army. We hope such a contingency may not occur; but whether the union is reconstructed or not, the southern States must foster any scheme having for its object the Americanization and southernization of Mexico, so that in either case our success will be certain.

In the Third, or Political degree, called the "Knights of the Columbian Star" the qualifications for membership indicate, even more clearly, the adaptation of the order to meet the demands of the south. The candidate was required to be familiar with the work of the two former degrees, to be a native of a slave State, or if of a free State, to be a citizen of a slave State, a protestant and a slave-holder. A candidate who was born in a slave State was not required to be a slave-

¹ *Louisville Journal*, July 18, 1861. The editor vouches for the authenticity of the statements regarding the change in the ritual.

holder provided he could give evidence of his character as a southern man. The candidate for this degree was obliged to promise assistance to any southern State which might be invaded by abolitionists, to do all in his power to build up in his community a sentiment favorable to the expulsion of free negroes, and, if he went to Mexico, he was to use his influence to make it a slave state and to urge its annexation to the United States. After the candidate had taken the oath of secrecy, the secretary explained to him that the whole purpose of the organization was the extension of slavery and the establishment of a government in Mexico.

Fortified with this new purpose, that of giving aid to the south in case of actual war, the K.G.C., with its element of secrecy, began its expansion into the territory north of Mason and Dixon line, where, as has been stated, there existed a strong sympathy for the southern cause. Kentucky, where the sentiment was then evenly divided, furnished a fertile field for its development. By August, 1861, it was claimed that the K.G.C. in that State numbered at least 8,000.² Castles were organized in Marion, Barron, Daviess, Christian, and Henderson counties. In Louisville alone it was asserted that nearly or quite 3,000 were admitted into the order, many of whom entered the Confederate service. In May, 1861, a resolution was offered in the Kentucky house of representatives calling for an investigation of the Knights of the Golden Circle, particularly in regard to the introduction of arms into the State. No investigations, however, were made.³ As the war spirit increased and men began openly to espouse the cause of secession and to take up arms to force the State out of the union, the need of a secret order no longer existed in that State, and so the society was forced north of the Mason and Dixon's line where sympathy for the Confederacy was strong, but where it was held in subjection by the arm of the federal government.

A determined effort has been made to ascertain when, how, and by whom, the organization of the Knights of the Golden Circle was introduced into the border States north of the Ohio river, but the labor has resulted in nothing more than

² *The Commonwealth*, Frankfort, Ky., July 31, 1861.

³ *The Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 641.

a strong supposition based upon rather insufficient evidence. Local tradition in Orange county Indiana, attributes the establishment and, in fact, the origin of the order to Dr. William A. Bowles of that county,⁴ who in 1864 was tried before a military commission at Indianapolis for treason and sentenced to be hanged. The career of this man lends some color to this local tradition. He had a very decided sympathy for the southern cause. His wife was a native of New Orleans and the owner of a number of slaves which she brought to her Indiana home in 1858. The presence of these slaves aroused great indignation in the community and Dr. Bowles was compelled by the courts of the county to send them back to New Orleans. He had served as a colonel in the Second Indiana volunteers in the Mexican war and to him was attributed the disgraceful retreat of the Indiana troops at Buena Vista. His experience in Mexico, his belief in slavery, his southern relations, his wealth, and his natural liking for intrigue fitted him well for the work of promoting a secret association whose filibustering purpose of seizing and Americanizing Mexico had given way temporarily to the more immediate purpose of securing peace between the two sections, even at the cost of separation.

When the rebellion began Dr. Bowles made no attempt to conceal his sympathy for the south. He wrote to his wife, who was then in New Orleans:

If Kentucky had gone out at the proper time, southern Indiana would have been with her today—if not the whole state.⁵

He expressed a desire to join the southern army, but his health was such that he feared he would be of little service, so he decided to remain in the north to protect his property and be of use to the south in the enemy's territory. From the outset of the war he was active in the propagation of these secret societies which opposed the administration; and it is fair to suppose that he had much to do with the introduction of the Knights of the Golden Circle into the border States.

Rumors of secret conspiracies are found in many of the northern papers during the year 1860, but in most cases they

⁴ West Baden, Ind., *Journal*, Feb. 10, 1903.

⁵ Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, Vol. I, p. 380.

refer to the general movement of the southern leaders toward secession. On January 9, 1861, a select committee of five was appointed in the federal house of representatives

To inquire whether any secret organization hostile to the government of the United States exists in the District of Columbia; and, if so, whether any officials or employes of the city of Washington or of the federal government in the executive or judicial department are members thereof.

The committee met and examined a number of witnesses among whom were the mayor of Washington and the clerk of the circuit court of Baltimore. The former, in reply to the question as to whether he knew of a secret order called the Knights of the Golden Circle, denied all knowledge of its existence. Other witnesses were questioned in the same manner. Some admitted that they had heard of it as a filibustering organization after the style of Walker's scheme, but did not know of its existence in Washington or vicinity. In their report on February 14, 1861, the committee said:

The committee is unanimously of the opinion that the evidence produced before them does not prove the existence of a secret organization here or elsewhere, hostile to the government that has for its object an attack upon the Capital.⁶

This report, however, did not allay the popular belief that southern emissaries were quietly and successfully building up a secret society in the north which would soon be a serious menace to the government.

In Indiana, within a month after the attack on Fort Sumter, the existence of the K.G.C. was strongly suspected in Wayne and other counties, and measures were taken to counteract its operations.⁷ In July, 1861, an anonymous pamphlet entitled "*An Authentic Exposition of the K.G.C.*" was published at Indianapolis. This pamphlet, while it was written by one who claimed to be a member and created considerable comment through the press at the time, is, in most respects, worthless as an authority regarding the organization. In September, 1861, John C. Brain, a professional artist, who was wandering about Michigan City, Indiana, was arrested, charged with being a spy in the service of the rebels, and a "member of the disloyal secret order known as the Knights

⁶ *House Report*, No. 79, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess.

⁷ W. H. H. Terrell, *Adj. Gen. Indiana, Report*, Vol. I, p. 294.

of the Golden Circle." The evidence produced on his examination proved that he had made efforts to induce men to join the order. He was sent to Fort Warren and there detained some five or six months.⁸

In December, 1861, the *Indianapolis Journal*⁹ claimed that a secret society had been organized in the State of Indiana for the purpose of opposing the war and defeating all attempts to sustain it by taxation; that it was undoubtedly an offshoot of the K.G.C. organization adapted to that latitude; and that it existed in Indianapolis, Rockville, Madison, Sullivan, Vincennes, and Greencastle, as well as in eastern Illinois.

Before the middle of the year 1861, Governor Oliver P. Morton was confident of the existence of the order in the State and began a system of espionage which in 1863 and 1864 resulted in its complete exposure. By May, 1862, sufficient evidence had been obtained to justify an investigation into the character, purposes and movements of the order by the grand jury of the United States circuit court. Witnesses were summoned before the jury from every part of the State. Newly enlisted soldiers were secretly given leave of absence and sent back to their homes to become members of the lodges in order to report their operations. In many sections of the State these witnesses found castles active and fully organized. Regular meetings were being held and military drill practiced. One castle of sixty or seventy members in Brown county, was being effectively trained in military tactics. After an examination of these witnesses from the different parts of the State, the grand jury made an elaborate report in which it said:¹⁰

A secret oath-bound organization exists, numbering some fifteen thousand in Indiana, as estimated by the members of their order, commonly known as the Knights of the Golden Circle. Their lodges or castles, as they denominate them, are located in various parts of the State; yet they have common signs, grips, and words whereby the members are all able to recognize each other, and pass-words to enable the member to enter the castle in which he was initiated or any other which he may choose to visit.

⁸ *O. R.* II, Vol. II, p. 711.

⁹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Dec. 30, 1861.

¹⁰ *W. H. H. Terrell, Adj. Gen. Indiana, 1861-65 Report*, Vol. I, p. 295.

After alluding to the filibustering origin of the order the report continues :

Said grand jury has abundant evidence of the membership binding themselves to resist the payment of the federal tax and to prevent enlistment in the army of the United States. In localities where the organization extensively prevails there has been a failure to furnish a fair proportion of volunteers. The meetings of the order are held in by-places, sometimes in the woods, and at other times in deserted houses; its members frequently attend with arms in their hands, and in almost every instance armed sentinels are posted to keep off intruders. The credulous and unwary are often allured into the fold of the order upon the pretext that it was instituted for no other purpose than the better organization of the Democratic party.

As a result of the three weeks session of the grand jury sixty indictments were returned, sixteen of which were for treason, eighteen for conspiracy to take and possess the property of the United States, and thirteen for conspiracy to defeat operations of the law.

This report, published on August 4, 1862, naturally excited much alarm throughout the State. The Democratic leaders at once declared that this was merely a move by the party in power to insure a Republican victory in the October elections. The Indianapolis *Sentinel*, the Democratic organ of the State, denied any knowledge of the existence of such an association and every effort was made by the Democratic press and by the party organization to counteract the effect of this report of the grand jury. The Republicans on the other hand found it a most excellent party weapon, and they did not use it lightly. The Indianapolis *Journal*, on the day the report was made public, started off with an editorial which said :

Nothing so seriously affecting the public safety of the government has been developed since the outbreak of the rebellion. A secret association exists in Indiana of 15,000 men, sworn to resist federal taxation and military enlistments, prepared by signs to recognize and assist each other and to recognize and protect members of similar organizations in the rebel army, and meeting with arms in their hands and under protection of armed sentinels. So gigantic a conspiracy is second only to the rebellion of which it is an offshoot. The grand jury has sent to places where castles of the order were believed to exist, brought to this city the men suspected of belonging to it, put them on oath and forced out of them word by word

confessions which are embodied in the revelations now made. Signs, grips and pass-words were revealed by witnesses. Some of the grand jury, in order to satisfy themselves by experiment, mixed with the crowd at the convention¹¹ on last Wednesday and the signs they had learned were recognized and returned by about one hundred persons.¹²

In his speech before the Republican State convention, which was held June 18, while the grand jury was still in session, Governor Morton warned the men of Indiana against factions and secret organizations. He declared that he had undeniable evidence from several sources of the existence of secret societies in the State of a dangerous character whose purpose was aid and comfort to the southern traitors.¹³ Republican papers published many improbable stories regarding the secret conclaves of the Knights and reported many instances of the midnight meetings of the lodges in dark and secluded places. Politicians from the governor down harped long and loudly on these evidences of "Democratic duplicity."

Assert as strongly as they might the treasonable character of this organization and its intimate relation to the Democratic party, the Republicans were unable to stem the tide of Democratic victory in October, 1862. The success of the Democrats in this election, however, can not be interpreted as a refusal on the part of the people to believe in the existence of these orders, for many adverse circumstances assisted to overthrow the Republican party. The defeat of Pope's army in the Peninsula; the absence of so many voters who had joined the ranks; the unpopularity of the draft—all were powerful influences against the administration. The Republicans hoped that their cry against this treasonable organization would overcome these unfavorable influences, but this weapon failed to have the desired effect. It was evident that the people did not accept all the extravagant statements of the partisan press and platform. A Democratic state ticket and legislature were elected thoroughly hostile to Morton and not at all in sympathy with the administration at Washington. The Republicans declared that the victory was accomplished by means of the K.G.C. organization, and that a majority of the members of the legislature were members of the society in good

¹¹ Democratic State Convention, Aug. 4, 1862.

¹² Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 206.

standing. While these declarations were extravagant and unwarranted, it is a well known fact that the members of the K.G.C. supported the Democratic candidates and that a majority in the legislature, while denying the existence of a treasonable order, sometimes admitted the existence of a secret organization whose purpose was the protection of a citizen against arbitrary arrests and against the machinations of the "Union League," a secret society whose chief purpose, according to their idea, was the enforcement of the will of a tyrannical administration.

On January 16, 1863, Mr. Thomas J. Cason, Republican representative from Boone county, offered a resolution in the House ordering an investigation into the secret political and military organization alleged to exist in that State with the object of resisting the laws of the State and of the United States. The question was laid on the table by a party vote.¹⁴ On January 20, 1863, Benjamin F. Gregory offered another resolution in the House which read:

Whereas, it is reported and believed by many loyal citizens in this State that there are many secret organizations or societies formed and being formed, intended in their character and nature to prejudice the minds of the loyal people of this State against the further prosecution of the war for the suppression of the rebellion in the land, therefore an act of justice to those against whom disloyalty is charged, as well as an act of justice to the citizens of the State of Indiana, and of the loyal people of the United States, there be appointed from this House a special committee of one from each congressional district in the State to investigate the facts in relation to said secret organizations, with power to send for persons and papers, who shall report their proceeding to this House.¹⁵

Various objections were made to such an investigation—it would be useless and expensive, no investigation should be made until facts had been discovered to prove the existence of such societies, the resolution was based upon a mere rumor originating with the abolition *Indianapolis Journal*, an investigation would embitter partisan feeling and cast a reflection upon the Democratic party, and finally, no one believed the accusations which had been made. The proposition was laid on the table by another strictly party vote.

This conduct on the part of the Democratic House may

¹⁴ *House Journal*, Indiana, 43rd Sess., 1863, p. 120.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

be interpreted in one of two ways: either the majority knew little about the secret order and deemed the rumors so groundless that they did not deserve the recognition of the House, or they feared the exposure of an organization in close touch with the party in power, including in its membership many Democrats. If the former supposition be the true statement of the case then the Democratic party was playing bad politics, for a refusal to grant an investigation only fixed more firmly in the minds of the Republicans the belief that such an organization existed within the ranks of the Democratic party. The bitter opposition of the legislature to the administration of Governor Morton and, especially, to him personally, lent some color to the accusation that the House and Senate were harboring many Knights of the Golden Circle.

On January 14, 1863, at a Union meeting in Indianapolis, Governor Morton made a speech in which he gave the history of the secret societies in Indiana. On the 24th, at a similar meeting in Shelbyville, he denounced in strongest terms the K.G.C.'s. Again on February 23, at Cincinnati, he warned the people against their secret intrigues.¹⁶ He reminded them of the charge that the One Hundredth and Ninth Illinois regiment, which had been recently disbanded by General Grant,¹⁷ was a Circle and that several regiments of Indiana troops were not free from the baneful influence of the order. He urged the people to throttle the public enemies, declaring that they would speedily be brought to trial.

During this time his agents were not idle. Spies throughout the State, were keeping close watch upon the lodges and reporting every movement made by the Knights. Col. Henry B. Carrington, mustering officer for Indiana, was busily engaged in the effort to detect the operations of the secret societies in their attempt to secure desertions from the army. In a despatch to Brigadier-General L. Thomas, adjutant-general of the United States army, on January 25, 1863, he confirmed the report which he had previously sent to the secretary of war in June, 1862, that a treasonable society existed in Indiana. He stated that nearly 2,600 deserters and stragglers

¹⁶ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 234.

¹⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1863.

had been arrested within a few weeks; that most of the deserters, true to the oath of the order, deserted with their arms; and that in one case seventeen had fortified themselves in a log cabin and were being maintained by their neighbors.¹⁸ On March 20, 1863, Colonel Carrington submitted to the secretary of war a memorandum on the condition of public affairs in Indiana.¹⁹ In this report he stated that the oath of the K.G.C. embodied three objects: securing the desertion of soldiers with their arms and the protection of these deserters; resisting further drafts and interfering with further enlistments; and stopping the war. He said that the society assumed new force and significance in December; the signs, grips, and passwords were changed; the obligations became more directly treasonable; and the organization assumed military form and purpose. A five pointed star was adopted as a sign of recognition in case the State were invaded by the rebels. Night and day signals were provided by which the members could rally to the assistance of a brother. The order had enjoined upon its members thorough arming, and during February and March alone nearly 30,000 arms, consisting chiefly of revolvers, entered Indiana. Sixteen boxes came from Lexington, Kentucky, under the guise of household goods. One box from Cincinnati was marked "pick-axes," another "hardware," another "nails." The county lodges drilled regularly. The membership of the order was estimated at 92,000, and there were known lodges in every county but seven. Plans were discussed in some of the lodges respecting the seizure of the arsenal, the railroads and the telegraphs. Several lodges made it obligatory upon the members to resist the draft. In conclusion this memorandum predicted serious violence if the tension were not relieved and the people of the State permitted to become quiet again.

On March 26, 1863, Governor Morton, who had gone to confer with the secretary of war, telegraphed to Colonel Carrington that large shipments of arms were being made from New York for insurrectionary purposes. Colonel Carrington at once issued a military order prohibiting the importation of

¹⁸ *O. R.* III, Vol. III, p. 19.

¹⁹ *O. R.* II, Vol. V, p. 363.

weapons for secret organizations and restricting the sale of arms.²⁰

Up to this time there had been little open and violent opposition to the administration, but during the spring of 1863 many acts of violence occurred not only against the enrolling officers but also against private citizens. Reports of disloyal conduct came up from nearly every section of the State, especially from the southern counties. A soldier on furlough at his home near French Lick disappeared. His friends asserted that the Knights of the Golden Circle were his murderers. A cavalry squadron, sent to Johnson county to arrest deserters, was fired upon. This also was charged to the knights. A Mr. Robe of Green township, Morgan county, was killed by Sylvester Bailey and no provocation was given except that Mr. Robe's son was a witness against the K. G. C.'s in the examination before the grand jury at Indianapolis. In the attempt of the county grand jury to ascertain who the murderer was a number of witnesses refused to testify regarding the work of the secret order for fear of incriminating themselves. On April 13 a serious riot occurred near Danville, Indiana, in which one man was killed. The riot was brought about by a crowd of mounted men wearing butternuts, presumably Knights of the Golden Circle. A farmer living in Union township, Morgan county, stated that on passing a schoolhouse in White River township at two o'clock in the morning he saw in a wood near the building a large number of horses hitched. He recognized them as belonging to members of the order in the county. Scores of similar incidents were reported through the Republican press from all parts of the State.

The highest pitch of excitement, however, seems to have been reached in an incident which occurred in the spring of 1863 in one of the back counties of the State and a stronghold of Democracy. This incident²¹ was the killing of Louis Prosser on April 18, 1863, by Captain Cunning, an officer of the volunteers. The latter, with some three or four strong union men and soldiers, had gone over to Brown county to attend a union meeting to assist in reviving the spirit of loyalty

²⁰ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 385.

²¹ Related by W. H. Smith, Indianapolis, Dec. 28, '02, an eyewitness of the incident.

which seemed to be especially lacking in that section of the State. Prosser was the leader of the Democracy in that county and a former representative of the legislature. He was also at the head of the Knights of the Golden Circle and an outspoken partisan of the rebellion. Accompanied by a few armed followers he attended the union meeting. While Captain Cuning was speaking Prosser shot and killed one of the soldiers who was standing on the outskirts of the crowd. Captain Cuning, who saw him fire the shot, drew his revolver, fired, and mortally wounded Prosser, whose followers succeeded in carrying him away to the hills. Intense excitement prevailed. The rumor spread that Governor Morton was sending a detachment of troops to capture Prosser, dead or alive. His friends, supposedly all members of this secret order, flocked to his hiding place to protect him from arrest. The next day fifty armed men were seen drilling in Nashville, the county seat, and a company of forty armed men from Jackson and Bartholomew counties passed through the town, going in the direction of Prosser's home, with the evident intention of protecting him from arrest and removal from the county. The testimony given before a commission, appointed by the governor to investigate the affair, indicated a state of anarchy in the county and an evident intention on the part of the members of the secret organization to oppose in every possible way the enforcement of the law. Men all over the southern half of the State went armed. The *Journal* declared:

The news comes up from every part of the State that the K.G.C. are supplying themselves with arms. Immense quantities of revolvers and bowie knives are shipped from this city to Cincinnati and other parts of the State. They are sent into country neighborhoods in lots of ten to one hundred, showing that companies and societies are all being armed.²²

So frequent had these acts of violence become in some of the southern counties of the State and so many rumors were set afloat concerning supposed raids of the K.G.C.'s that whole communities were kept in a constant state of alarm and excitement. In Washington county, where the order was unusually strong, the slightest rumor of the movements of

²² Indianapolis *Journal*, March 12, 1863.

the Knights led the union sympathizers to barricade their houses or flee to safer quarters in the adjoining county.²³

Unfortunately for the general situation, the federal government was forced to resort to the draft in the spring and summer of 1863. This only added fuel to the flame. In no section of the north did this exercise of the war power create more disturbance than in Indiana. Partisan spirit, which had been aroused by the State draft in the fall of 1863, came to a white heat when the federal government asserted the right to levy upon the individual States. Protests against draft, and particularly the commutation clause, were the topics of conversation at all gatherings, and these protests soon ripened into threats of opposition by force of arms. Enrolling officers were fired upon and a number were killed. Draft boxes were destroyed, enrollment papers were burned, and vigilant committees were organized to protect men who resisted the draft. Finally Governor Morton was forced to issue a proclamation (June 11, 1863) setting forth the law regarding opposition to the draft and warning citizens of the State against infractions of that law. He took occasion to admonish the people against the unbridled license of speech which was driving many into dangerous secret societies, whose purpose was the weakening of the government and the strengthening of the enemy's cause.²⁴

Naturally, but without sufficient justification, the supporters of the administration attributed most of the violence of the times to the Knights of the Golden Circle. If a fisticuff took place in front of a rural church or a country schoolhouse the partisan press cited it as another illustration of the machinations of the secret "emissaries of Jeff Davis." No doubt members of the order were implicated in many of these outrages, but there were many disturbances with which the Knights had nothing to do—disturbances which found their cause in purely local and personal jealousies, or sprang out of temporary excitement. Men's emotions were kindled to fever heat during those days. They had abnormal feelings of

²³ Statement of Supt. E. K. Koffman, Salem, Ind., July 30, 1903. See report of Adj. Gen. 1861-65, Vol. I, pp. 278-293. Gen. Terrell here gives a long list of the outrages and riots which he presumably attributes to the K.G.C.

²⁴ W. H. H. Terrell, Adj. Gen. Indiana, *Report*, Vol. I, p. 288.

patriotism and loyalty. Their opinions were radical, and he that dared utter the slightest protest against the policy of the administration was condemned by all loyal citizens and classed with the group of offenders indiscriminately called "traitors, butternuts, and copperheads."

Coupled with the serious acts of violence cited above, and the disposition of many to cripple the hands of the administration, were other attempts on the part of the opponents of the war which resulted most ludicrously to the members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. One of these was an incident which occurred in Indianapolis known as the "Battle of Pogue's Run." The Democrats had called a mass meeting for Indianapolis on May 20, 1863. A number of prominent Democrats, not only from Indiana but from the neighboring States, were announced as speakers, among them Congressman C. L. Vallandigham of Ohio, Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York, and Sen. Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana. The evident purpose of the meeting, at least in the minds of the Democratic leaders, was a protest against the administration and the war. But the radicals and the members of the secret organizations took advantage of this meeting for an armed demonstration. Word was sent to the lodge urging them to come armed and prepared for emergencies. The understanding was that an attack would be made on the State arsenal and Camp Morton, and that the prisoners would be released and armed. Members of a number of castles obeyed the order with alacrity. Arms and ammunition were concealed on their persons and in wagons. One castle sent a delegation of twenty or more from Sullivan county fully equipped for such an enterprise.²⁵ They camped on the outskirts of the city, leaving their munitions of war hidden under the hay. The mass meeting was a large one, numbering some ten or twelve thousand, of whom probably three thousand were armed. Governor Morton was fully informed of the warlike preparation on the part of the society by his spies, who were acquainted with almost every lodge. A small federal force which was in Indianapolis at the time, under the command of Gen. Milo Haskall, together with

²⁵ Statement of John A. Spence, Aug. 3, 1902. A member of the delegation from Sullivan Co.

the union paroled prisoners at Camp Carrington, were organized and placed under command of Col. John Coburn. They were stationed about the city to protect government property and suppress riotous demonstrations. Several companies were placed at the Circle, in the center of the city, two blocks from the statehouse yard, where the meeting was to be held. A cannon was placed in position to command the statehouse.

The meeting was called to order by Daniel W. Voorhees. Mr. Vallandigham, accused of insurrection, had been arrested at Dayton, Ohio, some days before by order of Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. This fact furnished Mr. Voorhees an excellent text for his attack on the administration. "One man there would have been in our midst today," he said, "an honored guest, one whom you all expected to see here on this occasion, but he has fallen a little sooner than the rest of us, perhaps a victim to the base usurpation which has taken the place of public rights and of the constitution."²⁶ Speeches were also made by Joseph E. McDonald and Thomas A. Hendricks. The tenor of all of the addresses was the usurpation of power and the tyranny of the State and federal officials. None of the speakers, however, advised armed resistance to the government. While the meeting was in session troops were stationed about the statehouse grounds. It is easy to conceive that they more than carried out their orders to prevent a demonstration. They became insolent, taunted the "copperheads," encircled the crowd and prevented egress, called for three cheers for Lincoln and the flag, and in various ways disturbed the meeting as only soldiers can whose sense of authority and egotism has developed more rapidly than their sense of fair play and their knowledge of the rights of the individual citizen. Their insolence increased with the enthusiasm of the crowd. About four o'clock in the afternoon, while Mr. Hendricks was speaking, some eight or ten soldiers with bayonets fixed and rifles cocked entered the crowd and slowly advanced to the stand.²⁷ This created much excitement among the Democrats. Mr. Hendricks hastened to close his remarks, the

²⁶ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 273.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 274.

chairman called for the report of the committee on resolutions, and the meeting adjourned. The enthusiasm of the Democrats gave way to intense anger at this interruption of a public meeting of a free people by a few insolent soldiers. Their wrath, which vented itself on the street, only added fuel to the flame, for it furnished the over-zealous soldiers with an excuse for arresting the would-be traitors and hurrying them off to the guard-house.

When the meeting was over and the trains were leaving the city a shot was fired from a car on the Lafayette or Terre Haute railroad.

The intention to create an armed disturbance now seemed clear, and the soldiers determined to give the remaining butternuts a lesson. When the Indiana Central train left the station a cannon was placed in front of it. The train stopped. A small body of soldiers was collected and a policeman, accompanied by the soldiers, demanded the surrender of all firearms in possession of the passengers. Nearly 200 weapons were given up. The train to Cincinnati was also stopped, revolvers were taken and many others were thrown by their owners into Pogue's Run at the side of the track. Weapons had been given to the women in the belief that they would not be searched. Seven were found upon one woman. A knife nearly two feet long was discovered in the stove of one of the cars. In all about five hundred revolvers were taken from those who had attended the meeting.²⁸

The ludicrous ending of the peace meeting produced a feeling of deep chagrin and anger in the minds of the Democrats whether they were connected with the treasonable plans of the order or not. Nor is this to be wondered at. No doubt the officials winked at the conduct of the soldiers who had as much to do with the bloodless battle as did the K.G.C.'s. On the following day the *Sentinel* in an editorial declared that Indiana was as completely under military rule as France, Austria or Russia, while the *Journal* glorified over the discomfiture of the traitorous schemes of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

The humiliating results of the Indianapolis peace meeting, the victories of the union armies during the summer of 1863, and the raid of John Morgan in July practically put an end to the Knights of the Golden Circle in the State. Re-

²⁸ *Ibid*, 276.

peated statements were made at the time and afterwards that Morgan was in communication with the Knights, that they knew definitely of his plans, and that he was promised assistance by them upon his entrance into the State. The fact that there was an understanding of some kind among the Knights, to the effect that their lives and property should be protected in case of a raid into the north by a southern army, is evident from the use of the lone star which was worn by the members under the lapel of the coat and hung in the windows of their homes as a protection to their property, but there is no evidence that Morgan expected any assistance or that they knew of his intentions. Gen. Basil Duke, second in command during the raid, says that they met only two or three members of the order in Indiana, and that they expected and received no assistance from the order whatever.²⁹

The Knights of the Golden Circle were more numerous in Indiana than in any other northern State; but the number of lodges will never be known, since there was no central authority to whom reports could be sent, and minutes of the local societies were either not kept at all or were destroyed when the governor exposed the order. Lodges were evidently established in nearly all the southern counties of the State, especially in the counties of Harrison, Washington, Jennings, Martin, Daviess, Orange, and Brown. One lodge was established in Indianapolis, a number were reported from Boone, Huntington, Allen, Dekalb, Randolph, and Wayne counties. But as an association the Knights of the Golden Circle in Indiana showed a lack of close organization and accomplished little more than to bring upon its members, and unjustly upon the Democratic party, the condemnation of the supporters of the war for the preservation of the union.

The history of the Knights in the other sections of the country is of less importance than in Indiana, for that State was the storm center of such movements during the war. But public apprehension was early aroused in other States because of the threatened danger from these secret enemies of the government. Early in the fall of 1861 southern Illinois was brought to the attention of the authorities at Wash-

²⁹ Statement of Gen. Basil Duke, March 28, 1903.

ington as being a fertile field for the propagation of secession. On December 5, 1861, Secretary William H. Seward wrote to David L. Phillips, United States marshal for the district of Illinois, saying:

It is represented to this department that there is strong ground for the belief that treasonable organizations are in existence in the southern part of the State of Illinois. You will please send a proper person to that quarter to examine into the truth of the matter and in case any well-founded evidence should be discovered against any person or persons you will give notice to this department by post. In cases which will not admit of delay, however, you will arrest the person, secure his papers, and give immediate notice by telegraph to this department.³⁰

On February 23 Mr. Phillips made his report to Secretary Seward, enclosing the report of one of his assistants, A. J. Davis, whom he had sent into the southern counties of the State to make investigation. Davis reported at length concerning fourteen well known sympathizers in the counties of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Williamson, ten of whom were members of the K.G.C. He named William Dodd of Mount Vernon, clerk of the county courts, who initiated him into the order; Henry Williams of Spring Garden, a leading citizen and member of the same castle, who had attempted to raise a company for the rebel army; Dr. Clemerson, prosecuting attorney for Williamson county, a native of Georgia, and the leader of the K.G.C. in that county. Mr. Phillips advised the arrest of all these men as "malicious and devilish enemies of the government." He thought the arrest of a few of the leaders would hold in check the treasonable element in that part of the State.³¹

In the early part of 1862 the "M. P.'s" or "Mutual Protection Society" was organized in and around Paris, Illinois. Their secrets were exposed by the editor of the local paper. A crowd of the members came into Paris for the purpose of getting satisfaction from the editor, but they found the Democrats as well as Republicans ready to protect him.³²

The political interest of the State, in the spring of 1862, was centered in the constitutional convention which sat in

³⁰ *O. R. II*, Vol. II, p. 270.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 241.

³² *Daily Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 28, 1862.

Springfield. Rumors were afloat concerning the disloyalty of some of its members. The correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* wrote:

It has been rumored around for some days that there are many Knights of the Golden Circle and members of the Mutual Protection society in the convention. The number of the K.G.C. has been placed so high as to come within a few votes of a majority of the convention.³³

In order to quiet the public apprehension regarding the influence of the order in the convention a committee was appointed on February 13 to investigate the charges. On March 20 the committee reported that the rumors had no foundation. It is not at all probable that the order had any influence in the deliberations.

During the summer of 1862 the government still continued to keep a close watch on the secret organization. Marshal Phillips reported that the midnight meetings were held in various parts of the southern counties and that as many as five hundred persons had been in attendance at one meeting. He further stated that the K.G.C. claimed to have lodges in every county in the State and a membership of at least 20,000 men.³⁴ During the summer months Phillips made numerous arrests, most of which were for treasonable utterances and for membership in the K.G.C. Investigations were also made by Major Merrell, provost marshal in southern Illinois. A full report of these investigations appears in the *Chicago Tribune* for August 25, 1862, under the caption the "Cairo Expose." While the report is evidently exaggerated and the depositions printed indicate that the testimony came chiefly from men of little education, they show a widespread disaffection in the southern part of the State. Strong castles were reported in Perry, Jersey, Jefferson, Franklin, LaSalle, Jackson, and Williamson counties. Depositions were taken and members testified that they had joined the organization with the definite understanding that the object of the society was to lend assistance to the southern cause and to oppose the "abolition" war then going on. In some cases names of members were given and the membership of castles reported, varying from seventy to four hundred.

³³ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1862.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1862.

The Carbondale *Times*, a Democratic paper, commenting on this expose, estimated the membership in Illinois at 30,000. A month later the same paper declared that it had no doubt of the existence of the order in southern Illinois, and that it believed its main purpose was to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the government.³⁵ The Illinois *Journal*, in discussing this statement, said:

The existence of an order in the south bearing the name of "The Knights of the Golden Circle" was proved beyond a doubt months ago. Its original object was the conquest of Mexico and Central America. On the election of Lincoln it became the chief instrument in fomenting rebellion against the government, and for the establishment of a Confederacy based upon negro slavery. A damning stigma upon the Democratic party is that none but Democrats joined the order. Many Democrats unhesitatingly condemn this treasonable association. Many have been seduced into the organization who, upon discovering its treasonable tendencies, have promptly withdrawn.³⁶

Nothing resulted from the "Cairo Exposé" further than to arouse the people in the southern part of the State to an abnormal sense of their danger, and to hasten the organization of Union societies (Loyal Leagues and others), in opposition to the K.G.C., and for the support of the union and the war.

The existence of this secret treasonable society in the Democratic counties and the convincing evidence that many prominent Democrats were members furnished the Republican press and platform in Illinois with most excellent material for the fall campaign of 1862. About the middle of July the Chicago *Tribune* began the cry of "traitors, copperheads, and secessionists." This cry grew more and more clamorous as the campaign progressed. No effort was spared to give the public full details of all the outrages supposed to have been committed in the name of the order. The matter occupied a leading place in each day's edition; special reporters were sent to the southern part of the State to investigate the situation, and, naturally, they made their stories as extravagant as possible. But, as in Indiana, this excellent campaign weapon failed to have sufficient force to overcome the results of the calamities in the field and the widespread dissatisfaction

³⁵ Quoted in *Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 10, 1862.

³⁶ Chicago *Tribune*, Jan. 7, 1863.

with the administration. The Democrats succeeded in securing a majority in the legislature. This, to them, was a clear vindication of the party from the stigma which the Republicans attempted to fasten upon it, and to the Republicans, a convincing proof that the Democratic party was so strongly intrenched behind this treasonable secret society that the State was in danger of going over to the enemy.

The silence which followed the election cannot fail to convince the reader that these attacks on the "Peace Democrats" were in part, at least, for political effect. But this silence did not long continue. As soon as the legislature met in January, 1863, Republican papers opened fire again on the secret societies, which they insisted had a large majority in that body. The *Tribune* declared that:

The leading spirits among the Democrats (in the legislature) are for revolution in the State, and no member is now afraid to say he is a K.G.C. Your correspondent might call every Democrat in the House a Knight of the Golden Circle and they would only laugh at him.³⁷

On January 10, the same paper added:

The legislature has been in session one week, during which time the Copperheads have not uttered one loyal word, but have belched forth treason day and night.

A sensation was created in this session of the legislature by a speech made by Representative Funk, one of the rich farmers in the State. He became very much annoyed by the filibustering methods of the Democratic majority in its efforts to hamper the governor in his war policy. Mr. Funk arose one day to object to a trifling resolution and took occasion to express his sentiments regarding the Democratic opposition. "Mr. Speaker, you must excuse me," he said, "I could not sit longer in my seat, and calmly listen to these traitors. My heart cries out for the lives of our brave volunteers in the field whom these traitors at home are destroying by thousands." He then proceeded to portray the results of their opposition, closing with a bitter denunciation of these "secessionists at heart, their aiders and abettors who seek to embarrass the government and stop the war."³⁸ This speech was published throughout the north in pamphlet form and

³⁷ *The Liberator*, March 6, 1863.

³⁸ Statement of Joshua Pike, Jerseyville, Ill., Dec. 1, 1902.

widely circulated as an illustration of the spirit of the peace Democrats.

That there was very serious opposition in this legislature to the war, and, particularly to the Emancipation Proclamation, is evident, but that it was caused by the presence of members of the Knights of the Golden Circle cannot be substantiated. The influence of the order in the legislature, however, cannot be accurately estimated, since no investigation was permitted and no official notice was taken of it during the session. There were, no doubt, members of the order in the legislature who assisted in hampering the State and federal administration, but it is to be noted that at no time during these ugly days did Governor Yates seem to feel that this secret society was a serious menace to the State government. The southern half of Illinois, like the southern part of Indiana, was settled almost entirely by emigrants from the southern States, and their sympathies leaned strongly toward the south. As a result those secret societies found here a fertile field in which to develop. The total membership of the order in this State was probably not so large as in Indiana, but the spirit of opposition to the draft and the conduct of the war was quite as radical. Castles were established in most of the counties in the southern part of the State. In Cass county, the membership numbered possibly 500 with lodges located at Beardstown, Monroe, Virginia, Philadelphia, Newmansville, Ashland, and Chandlersville. In Jersey county, castles were organized at Jerseyville, with 300 to 400 members; at Fidelity, with possibly 100 members; at Paradise and Delhi with a smaller membership.³⁹ In different parts of Hamilton county lodges were found with a membership varying from 75 to 100. Castles were organized as far north as Peoria and Chicago, but in that part of the State the war spirit was so predominant that the order never at any time aroused any anxiety in the minds of the people. The indications are that the membership in the State was composed largely of the riff-raff of the Democratic party and, while they did control the local politics of a number of counties and created much uneasiness in the minds of those who are inclined to attribute power to mere

³⁹ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 11, 1861.

secrecy, they were at no time sufficiently powerful to get control of the State. The organization in the spring of 1863 was absorbed by its successor, the "Order of American Knights."

In Ohio, we find the *State Journal* asserting, as early as October, 1861, that agents of the Knights of the Golden Circle were working secretly in the State; that their oaths, grips, pass-words and correspondence were in the hands of the federal authorities; and that the marshal for the northern district of the State had made a raid upon one of their castles in Marion county and arrested the leader.⁴⁰ The various official reports concerning the K.G.C.'s in Ohio assert that the society was as strong in that State as in Indiana and Illinois. A careful search in that section of the State where the society would naturally have met with the most favorable reception, namely, in the Virginia military land district, settled largely by emigrants from southern States, has failed to corroborate the official statements. There were local organizations in some sections of the State whose object was resistance to the draft and to the arrests made by home guards and provost posses⁴¹ but few of these were castles of the Knights of the Golden Circle. There were riots and violence in some of the counties which rumor attributed to the Knights, but such rumors cannot be verified. The slight evidence obtainable, the arrest of individual Knights, and the rumors concerning their lodges and secret meetings, tend to substantiate the belief that emissaries of the order were sent to different sections of the State, that here and there they found a few followers, but that the number of castles was never large and their membership never included any considerable number even of those opposed to the war. The excitement attending the arrest and trial of Vallandigham in May, 1863, and his nomination for the governorship of the State can, in no sense, be attributed to this secret order. In fact, Vallandigham was not a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle. His connection with the secret opposition to the administration came with the reorganization of the order under the titles of "Order of American Knights" and "Sons of Liberty."⁴²

⁴⁰ Statement of J. W. Eyler, Georgetown, O., Apr. 16, 1903.

⁴¹ Vallandigham, *Life of C. L. Vallandigham*, 370.

In Missouri, as in Kentucky, the condition during the first two years of the war were not favorable to the development of secret political societies opposed to the administration. The opposition found no necessity for secret hostility. It was only when the federal authorities had established some semblance of order in the State that these organizations found any reason for being. Here and there were found embryonic societies, such as the "Paw Paws" in the southern counties of the State, a military band, sometimes declared to be only a branch of the Knights of the Golden Circle;⁴³ and the "Corps de Belgique" in St. Louis, a secret club organized by the resident Belgian consul, Charles S. Hunt. But these were nothing more than local clubs. The "Corps de Belgique" seems to have had for its special object the unification of southern sympathy in St. Louis and the surrounding region in aid of General Sterling Price's proposed invasion of the State. All that it accomplished was to furnish the nucleus around which was built up the more pretentious order of American Knights.⁴⁴

Iowa, in a sense, was a border State and was not entirely free from the efforts of these secret emissaries. In the fall of 1862, H. M. Hoxie, United States marshal for the district of Iowa, arrested a number of members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. This action was highly approved by the war department with the suggestion that the order was regarded by the department as "a traitorous one" and "the leading members should be arrested."⁴⁵ In February, 1863, Mr. Hoxie received a letter from a prominent citizen of Clarke county (one of the lower tiers of counties) stating that a branch of the Knights of the Golden Circle called the "Union Relief Society" was thoroughly organized in every township in that congressional district.⁴⁶ Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood about the same date received word that the Knights had been holding secret meetings in different places in Madison county and that they had a supply of arms sufficient to arm at least 300 men. Castles were reported in Decatur, Warren and Lucas

⁴³ O. R. II, Vol. VII, p. 240.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 228 *et seq.*

⁴⁵ O. R. II, Vol. IV, p. 567.

⁴⁶ O. R. III, Vol. III, p. 69.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

counties. Governor Kirkwood wrote to Secretary Stanton in March that the order was "widely spread throughout the State" and that the public mind was in such a feverish and excited condition that a collision could be prevented only by a "convincing proof of the power of the government to preserve peace and order."⁴⁷ Both the governor and the federal officials in the State asked for arms and the appointment of provost-marshals with a sufficient force to prevent an outbreak in the southern counties. The governor, in March, 1863, issued a proclamation warning those who were seeking to array the people against the government and setting forth the punishment which would be inflicted for such criminal acts.⁴⁸ But the danger from the society did not extend much beyond the two lower tiers of counties and at no time was Iowa in danger of internal disorder. Public opinion was too overwhelmingly in favor of the administration to permit the extension of the society to the central and northern portions of the State.

We have no knowledge of the existence of the society in any of the middle or western States; but east of the Alleghenies we find evidence of attempts to organize castles. As early as October, 1861, the police of Philadelphia arrested a one-armed man named Charles Murray, on whose person they found papers containing the constitution and by-laws of the "Knights of the Golden Square." A comparison of these documents with those in possession of the state department relating to the Knights of the Golden Circle indicated that they were one and the same society. In his report to Secretary Seward regarding the documents, chief-of-detectives L. C. Baker said:

The document is copied almost verbatim from the constitution and by-laws of the Knights of the Golden Circle. I am satisfied that F— (Murray) is a member of the K.G.C. and that he has copied their constitution and by-laws.

The detention of Murray prevented the extension of the society under his direction.⁴⁹

In March, 1863, Judge Advocate L. C. Turner, received

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 82.

⁴⁸ L. C. Baker, *United States Secret Service*, p. 93.

⁴⁹ *O. R.* III, Vol. III, p. 75; *New York World*, Apr. 10, 1863.

information from Reading, Berks county, Pennsylvania, to the effect that castles had been formed in various parts of the county with the object of resisting the conscription and defying the laws of the United States. Detectives were sent to make investigations which resulted in the arrest of Philip Huber and three others charged with being members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. In his deposition Detective W. Y. Lyon reported that a number of lodges existed in Berks county and that they were rapidly increasing; that the avowed object was resistance to the draft and to the laws of the United States.⁵⁰ These arrests and the exposure of the order effectually put an end to their efforts in the east.

Frequent reports reached the secretary of state and secretary of war at Washington concerning the presence of agents of the Knights in various parts of the union. Even as far north as Maine they were suspected. Detroit and vicinity was said to be the center of their disloyal practices for Michigan. New York city was declared to be infested with them. These rumors cannot be verified and the fact that the government apparently paid no attention to them would indicate that they were only the suspicions of alarmists.

In concluding the review of this first of the secret orders, it is well to quote the testimony of Judge Advocate H. L. Burnett, who should have been well acquainted with the true purpose of the society and the history of its operations. In his report to the secretary of war he says:

There is no question but that this secret order was *per se*, a treasonable conspiracy. Every man of ordinary intelligence who, in view of the existence of a formidable armed rebellion in the land, subscribed to the oath of that order, first having read its ritual, was a traitor. The object of the leaders of the order seemed to be to educate the masses of the Democratic party and weld all the hostile elements of the north into bitter hatred of the administration and its avowed policy, and by inflammatory and incendiary appeals to arouse in their breasts such a degree of hostility toward the government that when the fitting time came they would be ready, at the beck of their leaders, to spring to their bloody work. Their intent seemed to be to make of this order and the embittered Democracy and malcontents throughout the land one grand, united, hostile mass, which should at the proper time be hurled against the government and its army.

⁵⁰ O. R. II, Vol. VIII, p. 524.

A review of the evidence from which Mr. Burnett draws his conclusions and the full report which he made at this time indicate that he was an advocate of a cause rather than an unprejudiced observer. The objects of the leaders were, no doubt, inimical to the government, but the mass of the membership never indicated a disposition to enter the arena on the side of the Confederacy. Their opposition seems to have been the result of strong partisan prejudice and the belief that the administration was assuming unconstitutional powers. The organization never became numerically strong enough to offer any real menace to the government. In Indiana and Illinois it did hinder materially the operations of the State and federal authorities, but even here the dangers were magnified. The order from first to last was so lacking in leadership, organization, and initiative that it could never have become in any sense a real menace to the government. And when its successor, the Order of American Knights, was established, with its more centralized control, the Knights of the Golden Circle was easily absorbed by it.

3. ORDER OF AMERICAN KNIGHTS AND SONS OF LIBERTY

The Order of American Knights, the successor to the Knights of the Golden Circle, originated in the mind of a lawyer of St. Louis, Phineas C. Wright, who afterward became editor of the *New York Evening News*, a paper which he planned to make the mouthpiece of the organization. Mr. Wright it seems had, prior to the war, resided in New Orleans. A year before the outbreak of hostilities he removed to St. Louis with his family where he entered upon the practice of law.¹ The exact date of the establishment of the new association, and the circumstances of its inauguration cannot be ascertained, but the supposition, based upon the evidence given in the testimony of the conspirators, is that Mr. Wright, sometime in the early spring of 1863, worked in conjunction with the members of the Corps de Belgique in St. Louis and estab-

¹ John A. Marshall, *American Bastille*, 218, 227.

lished in its place the Order of American Knights.² That he was a man of visionary temperament, a mystical romancer, and revelled in the mysterious and meaningless phrases of secret societies is clearly shown in the ritual of the new order which is decidedly turgid and rhetorical. There were five degrees in the new order—the Fourth or Grand degree being the highest degree of the State; while the Fifth or Supreme degree was the highest in the United States. Only high officials received the Fourth and Fifth degrees.³ In the First or Vestibule degree the candidate (neophyte) was taken through a sea of meaningless colloquies, after which the K.L. (Knight Lecturer) explained to him some of the principles which the order attempted to inculcate. It was this declaration of principles which furnished the military commission at Indianapolis with the best evidence that the order was in complete sympathy with the rebellion.⁴ These principles summarized are as follows:

1. All men are endowed by the Creator with certain rights—equal only as far as there is equality in the capacity for the appreciation, enjoyment, and exercise of these rights—some of which are inalienable, while others may, by voluntary act or consent, be qualified, suspended, or relinquished for the purpose of social governmental organization.

2. Government arises from the necessities of well-organized society.

3. Right government derives its sole authority from the will of the governed, expressly declared.

4. The grand purpose of government is the welfare of the governed.

5. The government designated "The United States of America" was created by thirteen free, sovereign, and independent States, for their mutual benefit, to administer the affairs of their common interest and concern; being endowed with the powers, dignity, and supremacy, and, no further, or other, which are distinctly specified and warranted and conferred by the strict letter of the constitution of the United States.⁵

After listening to these sound "State Rights" principles the candidate was asked, "How wilt thou respond to the decla-

² O. R. II, Vol. VII, pp. 627, *et seq.* House Executive Document, No. 50, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 519. This document contains the charges, testimony, findings and sentences of the plotters in the Camp Douglas Conspiracy; much of the testimony related to the secret societies.

³ O. R. II, Vol. VII, p. 642, testimony of Green B. Smith.

⁴ Discussed in Chapter V.

⁵ Benj. Pitman, *Trials for Treason at Indianapolis*, 1864, p. 298. This volume contains the official record of the trials before a military commission in the cases of Dodd and others. It will be referred to hereafter by the abbreviations *Indiana Treason Trials*.

rations thou hast just heard?" Placing himself in the "solemn attitude of invitation" he took the following vow:

I, — — —, fully comprehending and appreciating the declaration of principles which I have just heard pronounced, hold them for truth, to cherish them in my heart, to inculcate them among my fellows, to illustrate them, as far as in me lies, in my daily walk and conversation, and if needs be defend them with my life.

Then promising never to reveal the secrets of the written or unwritten ceremonies the candidate was advanced to the Second degree—"to the Temple where truth dwells serenely"—where he listened to a discourse on the subject of slavery, arguments which were distinctly southern in sentiment. In brief they were as follows:

The servitude of the African to the white man, imposed and regulated by wise and human statutes, and by suggestions of refined public sentiment, should promote the advancement of both races and is approved by the sanction of Divine economy.

When a people, of whatever race, shall have attained a social organism favorable to material and intellectual progress they should establish and maintain such form of government as a majority shall expressly declare and ordain.

All power resides in the people and is delegated always to be exercised for the advancement of the common weal by the express and implied terms of the ordinance or constitution. Hence any, the least, encroachment beyond the express limits is usurpation on the part of the delegate and is dangerous to the liberties of the people, since usurpation unrebuked, may become tyranny, despotism, and oppression.

Whenever the chosen rulers, officers or delegates, to whom the people have entrusted the power of the government shall fail or refuse to administer the government in strict accordance with the letter of the established and accepted compact, constitution, or ordinance it is the inherent right and solemn and imperative duty of the people to resist the usurpation of the functionaries and, if need be, expel them by force of arms.

Our swords shall be unsheathed whenever the great principles which we aim to inculcate and have sworn to maintain and defend shall be assailed.⁶

The A.B. (Ancient Brother) then demanded of the candidate a solemn vow in which he promised:

At all times, if needs be, to take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—in my country first of all—against any monarch, prince, potentate, power,

⁶ *O. R.* II, Vol. VII, p. 289. Pamphlet containing Ritual of O.A.K. Rare. Loaned by Wm. Dudley Foulke.

or government usurped, which may be found in arms and waging war against a people or peoples who are endeavoring to establish or have inaugurated a government for themselves of their own free choice in accordance with and founded upon the eternal principles of Truth.

His acceptance of these principles of the Temple so far advanced the candidate "from the outer darkness" as to assure the A.B. (Ancient Brother) that there was "one more votary to Eternal Truth, rescued from the galling chains of Error." The neophyte was now prepared for the instructions received in the Inner Temple. This was the "most excellent degree of the Order of American Knights," or Third degree. The instructions here were only an amplification of the principles of the Second degree regarding slavery and state sovereignty. The dogma of state rights was set forth in somewhat more positive terms than in the first two degrees. After listening to the reading of these principles, the candidate, for the third time obligated himself never to reveal any of the secrets of the order and to defend its principles with the sword, if necessary. He further promised that he would:

ever cherish the sublime lessons which the sacred emblems of our order suggest, and will so far as in me lies impart those lessons to the people of the earth where the mystic acorn falls from the parent bough, in whose visible firmament Orion, Arcturus, and Pleiades ride in their cold resplendent glories, and where the Southern Cross dazzles the eye of degraded humanity with its corruscations of golden light, fit emblem of Truth, while it invites our sacred order to consecrate her temples in the four corners of the earth where moral darkness reigns and despotism holds sway," etc.⁷

With this fitting climax to the ceremonies, the candidate, duly impressed with a full appreciation of the dignity and solemnity of the occasion, became a full fledged Knight ready to ride forth in true Don Quixote style "to do battle in the cause of Truth."

In addition to the written part of the ceremony there were the passwords, signals of danger, hails, watchwords, and the other mysterious features which characterized the numerous secret societies of the decade before the war, and attracted the attention of the superstitious and ignorant. As an expression of their devotion to the cause of state sovereignty the originators of the order adopted as their first and most

⁷ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 300; O. R. II, Vol. VII, p. 292.

important password "Nuohlac"—the word "Calhoun" reversed.

The political divisions of the States furnished a convenient basis for the local organization of the order which contemplated the establishment of a lodge in every township in every State in the union. The subordinate lodges in the townships sent delegates to the county, or Parent Temple. The Parent Temple sent delegates to the State, or Grand Council, which in turn chose delegates who composed the Supreme Council of the United States.⁸ The chief officer in the order was the Supreme Grand Commander who presided over the Supreme Council. Next in rank was the Grand Commander chosen by the State Council as head of the order in the State. In each county was a Grand Seignor chosen by the delegates from the subordinate lodges. In addition to the Grand Commander, the State Council elected a Deputy Grand Commander, a Grand Secretary, and a Grand Missionary. The duty of the last named officer was the organization of subordinate lodges in the townships.

The military plans of the order were not mentioned in the published documents and were known only to the leaders in the States, to those who had received the Fourth and Fifth degrees. Members who had taken only the subordinate degrees, when placed on the witness stand before a military commission, testified that they knew nothing of a military department. They were unable to explain satisfactorily in the light of this ignorance that part of the obligation in which they promised

To take up arms against any Monarch, Prince, Potentate, Power or government usurped, which may be found in arms and waging war against a people endeavoring to establish a government for themselves of their own free choice.

They claimed that they understood by that oath that armed force was to be resorted to only in defense of their individual rights at the polls; in opposition to the draft; against military arrests; and as a counter influence to the military organization known as the Loyal League.⁹ All the offi-

⁸ *House Exec. Doc.* No. 50, p. 183.

⁹ Most of the witnesses testified to complete ignorance of the military department of the order.

cial reports which discuss the objects of the new order assert that its primary purpose was the formation of a Northwest Confederacy, as a direct ally of the rebels.¹⁰ Here again only the leaders knew of these treasonable purposes, which did not take definite shape until after the Order of American Knights was replaced by the new organization, The Sons of Liberty. No doubt, in many communities where southern sentiment was predominant, as in central Missouri and in the Ohio river counties of Indiana and Illinois, many of the members were ready and willing to aid any Confederate force which might invade northern territory; but this can be said only of the lodges in these sections of the country and not of the mass of the membership.

Phineas C. Wright, the first Supreme Grand Commander of the order organized the State Councils in at least three of the States—Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana. In Missouri the chief officers were Charles L. Hunt, Grand Commander; Charles E. Dunn, Deputy Grand Commander; and Green B. Smith, Grand Secretary.¹¹ In the northern part of the State where the federal government was in control and able to quell any open opposition, the lodges grew rapidly in numbers and membership. But south of the Missouri river, particularly in the south-central and southwestern parts of the State, where the southern sentiment was so overwhelming, few, if any, lodges were established. Castles were organized in practically every ward of St. Louis, with a membership of from 50 to 150 in each. Flourishing temples were found in Ray, Charlton, Clay, Randolph, Howard, Boone, Calloway, Audrian, Henry, Lincoln, Cooper, Mississippi, Marian, Buchanan, and Montgomery counties.¹² Strong lodges were reported in Renick, Palmyra, Hannibal, and other cities in the northeastern part of the State.¹³

Arms and ammunition were purchased in St. Louis and shipped to the members in the outlying counties.¹⁴ So bold had the order become by the spring of 1864 that Provost Mar-

¹⁰ *O. R.* II, Vol. VII, pp. 244, 802.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 933.

¹² *Ibid.*, 296.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 745.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 642; Statement of Green B. Smith.

shal J. P. Sanderson, soon after his assignment to that position in St. Louis, determined to make a thorough investigation and expose what seemed to him "a secret organization most dangerous to the public peace and welfare of the government." He dispatched agents to the northern part of the State to ferret out the operations of the order there; selected agents who secured admission to the lodges in St. Louis; and sent spies into Illinois, Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. These investigations, coupled with the confessions of prisoners who were held by the federal authorities in St. Louis, resulted in the arrest of the leading officers, twenty-four leading members in St. Louis, and some seventy-five members from the northern part of the State. From the examination of these witnesses and the sworn statements of the officer of the order General Sanderson, in June, 1864, framed an extensive report which he sent to Major General Rosecrans, commanding the Department of Missouri. This report presented a dark picture of the conditions of loyalty in Missouri and the other border States. It asserted that treason lurked in almost every county and that the intention of the traitors was to carry the entire northwest over to the enemy.¹⁵ A study of this report in connection with the testimony submitted with it, and in the light of late testimony, is found to be inaccurate and overdrawn. Colonel Sanderson's spies were not all reliable men, especially the one he characterized as the "shrewd, cool, wide-awake Yankee," Edward F. Hoffman, whose long, facetious and rather apologetic letters brand him as an unreliable witness. Some of the agents did, however, give a straightforward statement of facts in their reports, and it is from them chiefly that the meagre data regarding the order in Missouri has been derived.

The number of members in the State was estimated all the way from 10,000 to 60,000.¹⁶ The lowest estimate, 10,000, was sufficient to include the total membership.

The arrest of Hunt and the exposure of the order through the public press put a stop to its organized activities in the State. Local lodges may have continued to meet, but the order

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 628.

lost all semblance of an organized effort in opposition to the administration. Whatever plans the leaders may have had for the future, they were blighted by the timely exposure made by the government. The effectiveness of the order in Missouri was destroyed before it entered upon its first campaign.

Not until the meeting of the Democracy of Illinois at Springfield, June 17, 1863, was a Grand Council for that State formed. At the close of this meeting P. C. Wright, Supreme Grand Commander, initiated into the order a number of prominent Democrats of the southern part of the State. S. Corning Judd, of Lewiston, was chosen Grand Commander, and B. B. Piper, Grand Missionary.¹⁷

In Illinois the order partook more of a political character than in Missouri—i. e., it aimed at opposition to the administration rather than armed resistance to the government. Many of the lodges practiced military drill and carried arms; but the majority understood that they were preparing themselves to protect their rights at the ballot box, and their property against the bands of outlaws which infested the State. Lodges were rapidly organized in the southern counties of the State and usually absorbed the membership of the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Mutual Protection Society. Quincy, Illinois, was a center from which radiated the influences of the order into both Illinois and Missouri. Active and flourishing lodges were reported in the counties of Warren, Woodward, Sangamon, Adams, Morgan, Clinton, Hamilton, Coles, Logan, and Fulton.¹⁸ One of Marshal Sanderson's agents reported that the order extended over the entire State and that the leaders claimed a total membership of 80,000 for Illinois alone. Other estimates of the membership for the State varied from 10,000 to 50,000. It is safe to say that at no time did the membership of the order exceed 10,000. The exposure of the Knights in Missouri and Indiana in the spring and summer of 1863 put an end to the activities of the leaders in Illinois and led many to withdraw their support from the movement.¹⁹

The State Council of the O. A. K. for Indiana was organized at a meeting held in Terre Haute about August 27, 1863.

¹⁷ *House Exec. Doc.* No. 50, p. 542, Testimony of S. C. Judd.

¹⁸ *O. R.* II, Vol. VII, p. 278.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

Mr. Wright was present and stated the purpose and plans of the order. Temporary officers were elected and a meeting fixed for Indianapolis September 10, 1863. Delegates from the different parts of the State were present at this meeting in September. Harrison H. Dodd was elected Grand Commander and William H. Harrison Grand Secretary.²⁰ Plans for dividing the State into four districts and arranging for complete military organization were discussed. At a meeting in November a committee was appointed to present plans for the establishment of a newspaper which should advocate the principles of the order in Indiana. In the meantime lodges were being established in the various counties as far north as Fort Wayne. As in other States, the membership of the Knights of the Golden Circle furnished a nucleus for the new order. This insured its rapid growth. By the middle of February, 1864, according to the report of the Grand Secretary, forty counties were organized and twenty more were in process of organization.²¹ The total membership reported to that date was 12,000. This report did not include the numerous counties from which unofficial reports had come. It is safe to say that the order soon became more widespread and more fully organized in Indiana than in any other of the border States.

The first regular annual meeting of the State Council was held February 17, 1864, at Indianapolis, for the purpose of electing officers and choosing delegates to the meeting of the Supreme Council at New York, February 22. H. H. Dodd was re-elected Grand Commander and William H. Harrison Grand Secretary. The Grand Commander delivered an address at this meeting which was ordered printed and distributed to the Parent Temples in the various counties.²² In this address he asserted that the purpose of the order was the "service of true Republicanism," by which he meant the independence of the individual States as secured by the Revolution of 1776. He declared that the great principle then at issue was the centralization of power, against which the Democratic

²⁰ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 80, Testimony of Wm. H. Harrison.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 319. This report named the following counties: Grant, Clay, Blackford, Dekalb, Harrison, Marshal, Washington, Allen, Brown, Wells, Vigo, Fountain, Sullivan, Parke, Marion, Vermillion, and Vanderburg.

²² *Ibid.*, 315; Testimony of Wm. H. Harrison.

party had been opposed since the formation of the union. He opposed the liberation of four million blacks insisting that the question be left to the individual States. He declared Lincoln and Morton's government to be a usurpation under which the people could not remain passive. He was willing to abide by the decision of the ballot box in the election of officers, but was unwilling to obey them when they exercised undelegated powers.

At this same meeting a platform was adopted which declared that:

Whereas, President Lincoln is usurping undelegated powers and attempting to establish a centralized despotism, *therefore* he is resolved that patriotism and manhood alike enjoin upon us resistance to such usurpation; that the constitution of the United States can be maintained only by adhering to the principles of the voluntary consent of its members; that a convention of the States be called to adjust the differences now existing; that the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 embody the true exposition of the constitution, and that we will support and maintain the constitution of the United States as interpreted in the light of those resolutions.²³

The committee on newspaper reported in favor of a State organization to be called the "Constitutionalist," and all members were urged to assist in securing at least 10,000 subscribers.²⁴ The military bill which had been drafted some time before was adopted at this meeting, and provided for a division of the State into four districts—Northeastern, Northwestern, Southeastern and Southwestern—and for the appointment of a Major-General for each district.²⁵ Dr. William Bowles, of K. G. C. fame, was chosen head of the Military Department and Commander of the Southeastern District. The adoption of this military bill smacked too much of armed rebellion against the authorities of the State and the United States to suit a number of prominent politicians who had, up to this time, given their support to the order. According to their testimony they decided to have nothing more to do with the movement. In fact this military act determined the fate of the order, for it took from the movement the support of

²³ *Ibid*, 318; Proceedings of the Grand Council

²⁴ *Ibid*, 320.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 80; Testimony of Wm. H. Harrison.

any prominent Democrats who might have allied themselves with a purely political society. It also furnished Governor Morton with a clear proof of the treasonable designs of the leaders. Although he did not expose these designs for six months, he knew at the time every move they were making.

In January, 1864, Mr. Wright accepted a position on the editorial staff of the New York *Evening News*. He still retained his position as Supreme Grand Commander of the order which he had established and continued his active interest in its behalf.²⁶ At different times during the winter of 1863 he issued to the lodges addresses teeming with the same verbiage which characterized the ritual and smacking strongly of treasonable opposition to the administration. These addresses, however, were the expression of an individual member only. They never received the sanction of the Supreme Council of the order. Mr. Wright organized the Order of American Knights in New York, with James A. McMasters, editor of New York *Freeman's Journal*, as Grand Commander.²⁷ An effort was made to unite the disaffected elements in the East, particularly in Pennsylvania and New York, but this resulted in complete failure.

At the last meeting of the Supreme Council, held in Chicago in September of 1863, it was decided to hold an adjourned meeting in New York on February 22, 1864. The meeting was duly called and among the leaders present were Messrs. Wright and McMasters of New York, Dodd of Indiana, Massey of Ohio, Greene of Illinois, and Barrett of Missouri. On the way to the meeting²⁸ Mr. Greene and Dr. Barrett stopped at Windsor, Canada, to confer with Mr. Vallandigham, induct him into the order, and obtain permission to use his name for the office of Supreme Commander. Mr. Vallandigham became a member, consented to the use of his name for the office, and suggested some material changes in the ritual of the order. They stated to him that one of the purposes of the New York meeting was the consideration of just such alterations as he suggested.

Early in the session the leaders became convinced that

²⁶ *Ibid*, 43; Circular letter written by Mr. Wright.

²⁷ *House Exec. Doc.* No. 50, p. 519; Testimony of J. B. McMasters.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 502; Testimony of C. L. Vallandigham.

the ritual should be altered and the order given a new name. Government officials had exposed their secrets; some of the members were opposed to the idea of knighthood as suggested in the name American Knights; and many desired a modification of the principles as set forth in the ritual.²⁹ A committee, with Dr. Massey of Illinois as chairman, was appointed to draft a new constitution and by-laws for the association. The results of his deliberation and a consideration of its report by the council as a body were a slightly modified ritual, new signs and grips, and a new name for the order. Inspired by the memory of the patriots of the Revolutionary days in New York City, these modern defenders of the cause of human freedom adopted the name of "Order of the Sons of Liberty."

Mr. Vallandigham was duly elected Supreme Commander of the new order; a committee was appointed to convey this information to him, and induct him into the Supreme Council degree. He accepted the honor conferred upon him and suggested some changes in the ritual, which had not yet been printed. The most important addition which he suggested was the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, which afterwards became the lesson of the Inner Temple of the Second degree.³⁰

The printed work of the order under a new name was much more voluminous than that of the Order of American Knights; but in essential features it was very similar. The constitution provided for a Supreme Council, a Grand Council for each State, and Parent and Branch Temples in each county. The officers of the order were practically the same as those of the American Knights, namely, a Supreme Commander, State Grand Commanders, and County Grand Seigniors.³¹ A number of standing committees were provided for. The principles of the order were changed considerably in language and form, but they still maintained the principles of State sovereignty as strongly as before. The ritual consisted of four degrees—the Vestibule, the First degree, the degree of the First Conclave, and the degree of the Second Conclave. In the Vestibule

²⁹ *Ibid*, 544; Testimony of S. Corning Judd.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 184; Testimony of Amos Green.

³¹ *Evansville Journal*, Aug. 11, 1864; Contains Gen. Carrington's full report of June 28, 1864, exposing the O.A.K. and S. of L. The constitution and ritual are given in full. This copy has been verified and corrected by General Carrington.

degree the candidate was required to give assent to a "Declaration of Principles," which was nothing more than a statement of the doctrines held by the Democratic party since the days of Jefferson—i. e., the doctrine that the federal government is one of delegated powers.

A majority of the Democrats who joined the order took only this Vestibule degree. They understood the organization to be nothing more than a Democratic club whose purpose was the advancement of the interests of the Democratic party. Nothing in the principles to which they subscribed in this degree could be construed into a treasonable design against the government. However, they obligated themselves to perform without hesitation or delay whatever was rightfully required of them by the duly constituted authorities of the society. Since the duly constituted authorities were at that time conspiring against the government the members obligated themselves to assist the conspiracy. As a matter of fact they were never called upon to do this, so they need be criticised only for taking the obligation and not for giving actual assistance, which in all probability they would never have given if called upon by the leaders.

In the lesson of the First degree the well-known compact theory was set forth much more fully than in the Vestibule degree, and the candidate was taught that:

In accordance with these principles, the federal government can exercise only delegated powers; hence if those who shall have been chosen to administer that government shall assume to exercise power not delegated they shall be regarded and dealt with as usurpers.

The claim of "inherent power" or "war power" as also "State necessity," or "military necessity" on the part of the functionaries of a constitutional government for sanction of any arbitrary exercise of power, we utterly reject and repudiate. Whenever the officials to whom the people have entrusted the power of government, shall refuse to administer it in strict accordance with its constitution, and shall assume to exercise power or authority not delegated, it is the inherent right and imperative duty of the people to resist such officials, and if need be expel them by force of arms. Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the assertion of right.

In the next degree, that of the First Conclave, are found, in condensed form, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, Mr. Vallandigham's personal contribution to

the ritual. These resolutions, however, are but a restatement of the lesson of the First degree. In the degree of the Second Conclave the candidate received no lesson; he merely obligated himself to defend the principles of the order, as already set forth in the ritual.

In addition to these four degrees there were the degrees of the Grand Council and the degree of the Supreme Council, both of which belonged to the unwritten work of the order. The general password was the same as that of the Order of American Knight, namely: Calhoun spelled backward forming three syllables, "Nu-oh-lac." These, together with the initials "S. L." and the expression, "Give me liberty or give me death," pronounced alternately with the warden of the Outer Court, admitted the member to the Vestibule.

The written and unwritten work of the Sons of Liberty as thus explained applied, in general, to the order in all the States; but each State was left to provide its own internal organization. This was consistent with the doctrine of State Rights as set forth in the ritual. The constitution and laws of the order in Indiana are the only ones preserved for us.³² Here we find an elaborate system worked out in detail, providing for the organization of the Grand Council, county Parent Temples and Castles. The State was left free to provide for its military department. In Indiana the State was divided into four districts, as under the constitution of the Order of American Knights. In Illinois the State was divided into congressional districts over which were placed brigadier-generals.

The return of the leaders from the New York meeting meant a vigorous campaign for the order under the new name. Members of the O. A. K. were not required to take new obligation. They were members of the new order by virtue of their relations to the old. The existing officers retained their positions. The Grand Secretary of Indiana, W. H. Harrison, sent a circular letter to the different county Temples of the State advising them of the changes made in the ritual and requesting them to send an accredited member of the Temple to Indianapolis for new instructions.³³ In Illinois agents from the Grand Council were sent out to instruct the Temples in

³² *Evansville Journal*, Aug. 11, 1864.

³³ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 83; Testimony of Wm. H. Harrison.

regard to the new ritual.³⁴ The leaders in Missouri opposed the alterations made at New York and refused to introduce them in their lodges, so the organization in that State remained under the old name. In Kentucky, where the Grand Missionary of the O. A. K.'s from Illinois, B. B. Piper, had organized a few castles of the Order of American Knights in the eastern part of the State during the fall and winter of 1863 and 1864, the Grand Council was organized as the Sons of Liberty with Joshua A. Bullitt, judge of the Kentucky court of appeals, as Grand Commander, and Felix G. Stidger, an ex-federal soldier, as Grand Secretary.³⁵ Mr. Stidger was at that time in the secret employ of the federal authorities in Kentucky and Indiana and joined the order for the purpose of betraying its operations to the government. He was in constant communication with General Carrington and Governor Morton at Indianapolis, and at the same time intimately associated with the leaders of the secret society in that city and Louisville. His disclosures during the summer of 1864 and his testimony before the military commission in Indianapolis in August of that year were considered by the judge advocate as the most important evidence leading to the conviction of the leaders. The character of Stidger's evidence will be discussed in a later chapter.

In Kentucky the Temples were never numerous and the operations of the order were confined to a small number of radicals in the city of Louisville, whose chief object seemed to be to secure supplies of Confederate funds from Canada.

In Ohio, the home of the Supreme Commander, the strength of the Sons of Liberty cannot be ascertained. General Carrington says that the State Council was to be established in June, 1864, and that the order was almost as powerful in that State as in Indiana.³⁶ Judge Advocate Holt, in his report, assumes that the number exceeded 80,000³⁷; and the biographer of Mr. Vallandigham says that because of the influence of the Supreme Commander lodges were organized in almost every county in Ohio.³⁸ Various other estimates

³⁴ *House Exec. Doc. No. 50*, p. 482; Testimony of A. R. Cassill.

³⁵ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 110; Testimony of Felix Stidger.

³⁶ *O. R. II*, Vol. VII, p. 339; Carrington to Potter, June 5, 1864.

³⁷ *O. R. II*, Vol. VII, p. 930.

³⁸ Vallandigham, *Life of C. L. Vallandigham*, 374.

and assertions were made concerning the strength of the order in that State, but a careful search reveals no evidence to substantiate any of these assertions. Dr. Massey, the Grand Commander of the order in that State, no doubt succeeded in organizing a number of castles, particularly in Vallandigham's congressional district, which centered about Dayton, but the war Democrats were so completely in control of the State party machinery that even Mr. Vallandigham had difficulty in being chosen delegate from his district to the Democratic national convention which met in Chicago on August 29, 1864. In the absence of more confirmatory proof, and with recent statements made by men who lived there during those stirring times, it is fair to assume that the Sons of Liberty never gained much ground in Ohio, and at no time numbered more than a few thousand members.

In fact the operations of the Sons of Liberty were confined almost wholly to the States of Indiana and Illinois. Here the bitterness of feeling existing between the Union men and the "Peace-at-any-price" opponents of the administration had become so intense by June of 1864 that federal, State, and local authorities were called upon repeatedly to quell disturbances. Robbing, stealing, and general outlawry became so prevalent in the southern sections of these States that men went armed, slept with rifles under their pillows, barricaded their houses and places of business, and in a number of cases good citizens rose in their might and without judge or jury put to death many of the outlaws.

Union men organized themselves into the Loyal League for the purpose of "maintaining the national and State governments against all enemies at home or abroad." This Loyal League was a secret military organization composed chiefly of members of the Republican party, and intended to protect the community in which they were organized against these local disturbances. The over-zealous partisan spirit of these men, no doubt, often led them to abuse the purpose for which they had banded themselves together, and to inflict upon Democrats, because they were Democrats, abuses and punishments which were undeserved. It mattered not what the nature of the opposition to the government was—it might be resistance

to the draft; a raid by a band of outlaws such as Clingman's band in southern Illinois; a drunken riot between "butter-nuts" and soldiers at home on a furlough—all were attributed to the machinations of this treasonable secret society, indiscriminately designated Knights of the Golden Circle, Order of American Knights, or Sons of Liberty; to which it was assumed all Democrats belonged. The partisan spirit among the Democrats on the other hand was just as radical. The efforts of federal officials to preserve order and suppress riots were resented by the opponents of the administration as usurpation of power. When the officers called to their assistance the armed members of the Loyal League, or Home Guards, the peace Democrats declared it to be tyranny and oppression.

The number of castles and the membership of the Sons of Liberty in Indiana gradually increased during the summer of 1864. The report of the secretary, given at the last meeting of the Grand Council of the State, held June 14, 1864, at Indianapolis, estimated the membership at 15,000, an increase of 20 per cent since February, 1864.³⁹ Thirty counties with forty delegates were represented at this meeting. Among the leaders present were William A. Bowles, Lambden P. Milligan, Andrew Humphreys, Stephen Horsey, ——— McBride, and Harrison H. Dodd. Nothing of vital importance occurred at this meeting except the adoption of a resolution giving the Grand Commander power to appoint a secret "Committee of Thirteen" to act in the interim of the meetings of the Grand Council, and exercise the same power which that body had. The membership of this committee was to be known only to the Grand Commander. The only satisfactory explanation for this extreme secrecy is, that Mr. Dodd and the few leaders realized that the treasonable conspiracy in which they were then engaged (to be related in the next chapter) would not meet with the support of the membership of the order, but that with a committee absolutely secret and select the negotiations with the Confederate agents in Canada could be carried to a successful conclusion.⁴⁰

The total membership in Illinois was estimated by the

³⁹ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 86; Testimony of Wm. H. Harrison.

⁴¹ *House Exec. Doc. No. 50*, p. 544; Testimony of S. C. Judd.

Grand Commander of the State to be 20,000. Although the same conditions favorable to the growth of the society existed there, as in Indiana, the leaders were not so active in their missionary efforts, and the indications are that the membership increased very slowly, if at all, in central and southern Illinois. Further, the exposure of the O. A. K. in Missouri, from April to July 1864, practically ended the activities of the order in central Illinois. Chicago was the center of interest during the summer of 1864. There the meetings of the Grand Council for the State were held, and also the meetings of the Supreme Council. For some time there had existed in Chicago a secret lodge by the name of the "Sons of Illini," which was claimed to be only another name for the Sons of Liberty, but the constitution of the former club is in no way similar to that of the Sons of Liberty, and the testimony before the military commission at Cincinnati does not confirm the relationship of the two. There were, however, several meeting places of the Sons of Liberty in Chicago; and by the middle of August the membership was declared to be fully 5,000.⁴¹

By April, 1864, no well-defined plan had been developed by the leaders for violent opposition to the government. The acts of violence attributed to the lodges up to this date were of a local character and not part of a general plan. The leaders no doubt had such plans in mind, but they did not develop into realities until the Confederate agents appeared in Canada with a plentiful supply of bank notes to support liberally a movement in the rear of the federal army.⁴²

4. THE NORTHWEST CONFEDERACY OF 1864

One of the well-defined hopes of the southern leaders, from the first outbreak of hostilities in 1861 to the close of 1864, was the separation of the northwestern States from the union and either the organization of these States into a Northwest Confederacy in alliance with the south or their admission into the southern Confederacy as States. This hope found

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 640.

⁴² *The Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 572.

expression in resolutions passed by the Confederate congress; in the proclamation of General Braxton Bragg to the people of the northwest in September, 1862; in the speech of President Davis at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1863; in the frequent proposals of the southern press to separate the "Northwestern States from the Yankee government"; and the desire of the peace party in the northwest for a separation from New England if the desolating war then going on was not brought to a speedy close.¹

The three staple arguments used in favor of this proposal were:

1. The future of the northwestern States on account of their geographical position, their agricultural interest, and their blood relationship, is inseparably associated with that of the south.²

2. The Mississippi is their common carrier.

3. The unequal alliance with the east, particularly with New England, is unnatural and injurious to the western States.

These arguments had no little influence in moulding the opinion of the people of the northwest and producing, in 1863, so much active opposition to the administration that Lincoln declared to Charles Sumner in January of that year "that he feared the fire in the rear"—meaning the Democracy, especially of the northwest—"more than any military chances."³

The Confederate leaders watched with growing satisfaction this disaffection in the northwest and the open opposition of her citizens to the "severe and unconstitutional" measures adopted by the federal government. They were also fully acquainted with the existence in the border States of the secret political organizations which have been the subjects of discussion in the previous chapters.

¹ McPherson, *Political History of United States During the Great Rebellion*, 42, 303; *O. R. I*, Vol. LII, p. 1, p. 363; *O. R. IV*, Vol. II, pp. 41, 137, 179, 490. The *Richmond Whig* and other Southern papers contained frequent editorials favoring the plan of Northwest separation.

² *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1863; *Daily Illinois Journal*, July 20, 1863; *New York Herald*, Sept. 3, 1863; Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 398. *Cong. Globe*, 2nd Sess., 36th Cong., p. 794. Many Democratic mass meetings in Indiana and Illinois passed resolutions favoring separation from New England.

³ *Pierce's Sumner*, Vol. IV, p. 114, quoted in *Rhodes*, Vol. IV, p. 223.

In the spring of 1864 the Confederate government decided to utilize these hostile forces, if possible, in furthering its plans of secession. Its arms had met with defeat in every quarter; Lee had been driven back at Gettysburg; Vicksburg had fallen; the federal government had undisputed possession of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth; supplies were getting low; the difficulty of obtaining them was becoming more and more apparent; the depleted ranks of the Confederate army could no longer be filled with new recruits; the north refused to exchange its prisoners; Grant was closing in on Richmond; and Sherman was on his march to the sea. The situation was a desperate one. The only gleam of hope was a stroke in the rear—an uprising in the disaffected portions of the north, and the release of some 30,000 to 50,000 Confederate soldiers imprisoned in the northern cities. Such a movement as this would be a serious threat to the safety of the northwest, which would force Sherman to retrace his steps and so probably prolong the war until foreign recognition could be obtained.

Accordingly, in April, 1864, President Davis appointed Jacob Thompson, C. C. Clay, and J. P. Holcombe as commissioners to proceed at once to Canada and there carry out the oral instructions which they had received from him. The sum of \$900,000 was placed at their disposal, to be used in releasing Confederate prisoners; transporting them to the south; crippling and embarrassing the federal government by destroying military and naval stores; influencing the press; and purchasing arms and ammunition for the disaffected portions of the northwest, especially the secret political organizations.⁴ On April 30 Judah P. Benjamin wrote to John Slidell, saying:

We have sent Jacob Thompson and Clement Clay of Alabama to Canada on secret service, in the hope of aiding a disruption between the eastern and western States in the approaching election at the north. It is supposed that much good can be done by the purchase of some of the principal presses, especially in the northwest.⁵

On March 16, 1864, Captain T. H. Hines, who made him-

⁴ *Mss. Confederate Archives, Treasury Dept., Benjamin to Thompson, Apr. 28, 1864.*

⁵ *Ibid.; Benjamin to Slidell, Apr. 30, 1864.*

self famous in the Morgan raid as a companion of the general in his escape from the Ohio penitentiary, was detailed by the Confederate government to the special service of assisting escaped prisoners who were willing to re-enter the Confederate service, and of urging the friends of the Confederacy in the northwest to organize and prepare themselves to render such aid as the circumstances would allow.

Captain Hines proceeded at once to Canada by way of the United States, while the commissioners went by sea.⁶ The latter reached Montreal on May 29. Mr. Thompson, as chief of the commission, sought to secure conferences, not only with the leaders of the disaffected elements in the north, but also with representatives of the administration at Washington. The conference with Greely at Niagara Falls and the almost humorous failure of his negotiations⁷ for cessation of hostilities led the commissioners to turn to the leaders of the peace party, with the hope of organizing an active and practical opposition to the war. Naturally the first man to whom they turned was Clement L. Vallandigham, who had been at Windsor, Canada, since his exile in 1863, and was now Supreme Commander of the secret order, The Sons of Liberty. Captain Hines had a conference with Vallandigham on June 9; and on the 11th of June Mr. Thompson, himself, met Mr. Vallandigham and the two discussed thoroughly the existing hostility in the border States.⁸

In this conference Mr. Vallandigham stated that the order was well organized, partially armed, and "ready to defend the principles at any cost"; that the membership was 300,000 strong, distributed as follows: 85,000 in Illinois, 50,000 in Indiana, 40,000 in Ohio, and while the number in Kentucky was not stated it was estimated as very large. He introduced to Mr. Thompson a prominent officer of the order with whom the Confederate commissioners afterward arranged for the distribution of funds to be used in "arming and mobilizing the county organizations." Thompson was initiated into the or-

⁶ *Ibid.*; Benjamin to Hines, March 16, 1864.

⁷ Much of the detailed narrative of these events is derived from the personal account of the incidents by Judge T. H. Hines, published in the successive issues of the *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, Dec. 1886 to March 1887.

⁸ O. R. I, Vol. XLIII, pt. II, p. 931, Thompson to Benjamin, Dec. 3, '64.

der. He examined the principles for which it stood and decided that only the occasion was lacking for members to arise and assert their rights. He felt that the moment had arrived when this occasion should be furnished. Holcombe was not so sanguine; while the northwest was "fermenting with the passions out of which revolutions have been created," he felt that conditions were not yet favorable for an uprising; but he urged the government not to abandon its efforts to separate this section from the United States.

Negotiations between Mr. Thompson and Mr. Vallandigham continued. A conference was held with a representative of the Sons of Liberty from Chicago, who asserted that he had "two regiments organized, armed, and eager for an uprising." Communication was had with the representatives from Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois, and July 20th was fixed upon as the date for a simultaneous uprising of the order in these states. Money was supplied to these leaders for arming the members and meeting the other necessary expenses of the undertaking.

Mr. Vallandigham informed the commissioners that in the interval he would return to Ohio and would, no doubt, be arrested, which event would give the occasion for a general uprising and retaliation by the order for the many acts of oppression which its members had suffered.⁹ He reached Hamilton on June 15, in time to be present at the Democratic district convention which was called to select a delegate to the national Democratic convention to be held in Chicago on July 20. Mr. Vallandigham's friends had supported him for the nomination in the face of much opposition, and his appearance at the afternoon session of the convention was sufficient to carry the day for him. The motion to elect him as delegate was carried amid great applause. As soon as the necessary business was transacted the convention adjourned to the courthouse yard to listen to the speech from their leader, who had been in banishment from May, 1863.¹⁰

In the course of his remarks, which were confined chiefly to an arraignment of the "unconstitutional and oppressive

⁹ *Southern Bivouac*, II, p. 505.

¹⁰ *O. R.* II, Vol. VII, p. 327.

measures of the Republican administration," Mr. Vallandigham took occasion to speak of the Knights of the Golden Circle or "any other secret society, treasonable or disloyal in character," whose purpose was armed resistance to the federal or State authorities. He declared that he did not know that any such had ever existed, but he was positive that none existed at the present time—he admitted that there were lawful political or party associations whose purpose was to strengthen the Democratic party and oppose the influence of the "dangerous, secret, oath-bound combination among the friends of the administration known as the Loyal Union League"; he knew of but one great conspiracy, that was the Democratic party, whose purpose was the overthrow of the present administration in November, not by force of arms, but by the ballot box

—and he warned the men in power that there was a

Vast multitude bound together to defend, by whatever means, the exigencies of the times demanded, their natural and constitutional rights as freemen.¹¹

Much to his chagrin and the disappointment of his friends the federal authorities ignored the presence of Mr. Vallandigham in Ohio, and the occasion for the uprising in that State did not present itself. Mr. Thompson, however, did not lose faith in the project. In his reports to Richmond he assured the Confederate officials that

The rank and file in the northwest are weary of the war and eager to accept from any source relief from the existing conditions.

A decisive movement he felt would push thousands into open revolt. This, however, was not the feeling of the leaders of the Sons of Liberty. As the day appointed for the uprising approached they realized that they were not prepared for such a hazardous undertaking. They so informed the Confederate commissioners and called a meeting of the representatives of the order for July 20 at Chicago. Delegates from at least four States were present: Messrs. Dodd, Bowles, Walker, and Wilson from Indiana; Bullitt and Williams from Kentucky; Holloway, Piper, Swen, and Walsh from Illinois; and Barrett from Missouri. Captain Majors represented the Confederate commissioners with power to complete arrange-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330, *et seq.*

ments for the expenditure of a large sum of money in furthering the insurrection. The leaders were convinced that an uprising on the day appointed would end disastrously; so August 16 was fixed upon as a time far enough distant for the final arrangements to be perfected. An additional supply of money was furnished to the leaders, the expenses of all delegates to the conference at Chicago were paid, and a committee selected to confer with the Confederate agents across the border.¹²

This conference took place on July 22 at St. Katherine, Canada. The committee argued that the success of the uprising would depend upon a movement of Confederate troops into Kentucky and Missouri in sufficient force to occupy the attention of the northern army while the conspirators were busy in the rear. Such a movement was then under way in both Kentucky and Missouri, which removed any reason for delay on this score. The committee also urged that a series of public peace meetings in the northwestern States was necessary to prepare the public mind for the uprising. Mr. Thompson agreed to furnish all the funds needed for such meetings. Arrangements were completed for the uprising, which was to occur on the 16th of August. The general plan was to move upon the prison camps at Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, Alton, and Rock Island; seize the arsenals at these points; free and arm the Confederate prisoners; get control of the telegraph lines and railroads; move toward the south to the rendezvous at Louisville and St. Louis, drawing to their forces all the disaffected as they marched across the States; overthrow the State authorities; organize provisional governments; and so threaten the union cause in the northwest that Sherman would be forced to abandon his march to the sea and return to the defense of the States north of the Ohio. Such a culmination as this would give the south a breathing spell during which she could collect herself, possibly turn the tide of war and ultimately succeed in securing a favorable peace.¹³

The leaders returned to their States, if not full of confidence as to the outcome of this grand scheme, at least with

¹² *House Exec. Document No. 50, p. 666.*

¹³ *Indiana Treason Trials, p. 113.*

their pockets full of Confederate drafts on Canadian banks. Judge Bullitt, Grand Commander of the order in Kentucky, reached the Ohio with his hand-grip sagging under the weight of Confederate gold. He was met at the ferry landing at Louisville by a United States officer and placed under arrest, and shortly afterwards was transferred to Ft. Lafayette.¹⁴ During the three following days twenty-four other arrests were made in Louisville. These arrests destroyed all hopes of assistance from the order in Kentucky.

Grand Commander Dodd of Indiana and his chief colleagues, Messrs. Walker and Bowles, returned to Indianapolis also with a large sum of money, estimated at \$200,000, a part of which had already been spent in the purchase of arms and ammunition in New York. Dodd arranged for runners to be sent to the various county Temples, the officers of which should inform the lodges in the townships concerning the details of the plan. He called upon the chairman of the State Democratic committee, J. J. Bingham, editor of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, and requested him to announce a Democratic mass meeting for August 16 at Indianapolis. He explained to Mr. Bingham the purpose of the gathering and the plans for the insurrection. The latter refused to call the meeting and advised Mr. Dodd to drop the whole matter, declaring that the revolutionary scheme was wild and visionary. Realizing the effect of the exposure of such a scheme on the election of 1864, Mr. Bingham and Joseph E. McDonald, one of the Democratic leaders, called a council of prominent Democrats of the State to discuss ways and means of putting an end to the plot and preventing its exposure by the Republicans. Congressman Michael C. Kerr, a member of the Sons of Liberty from New Albany, declared that the people in Washington, Floyd, and Harrison counties had the idea that a revolution was impending, and that the frightened farmers were selling their hay in the fields and their wheat in the stack. The members of the conference were unanimously of the opinion that the whole movement should be stopped, not only because the plans were treasonable but because their exposure would have a disastrous effect on the Democratic vote in the State election on

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100; Testimony of J. J. Bingham.

October 11. Dodd and Walker were called in and compelled to promise that they would go no further with their arrangements.¹⁴ The Democratic leaders did not report this conspiracy to the Republican officials. They had no desire to furnish the administration with a campaign weapon which could be used with telling effect. Governor Morton and General Carrington had already published a full *expose* of the Sons of Liberty in the State, giving the ritual, grips, pass-words, and some of the plans of the order, and attributing to it treasonable designs of the most diabolical character.¹⁵

Meanwhile in Illinois "peace meetings" had been called for Peoria, Springfield, and Chicago. The first one at Peoria proved a success, in so far as having a large crowd and arousing the masses in favor of peace. The second one at Springfield was lukewarm and the last one at Chicago was a failure.

The plans for the uprising had met with discouragement from every quarter; Vallandigham's return to Ohio had been ignored by the government; the order in Kentucky had been demoralized by the arrest of its leaders; the leading Democrats of Indiana refused to lend countenance to the plot; a number of the conspirators had been arrested in St. Louis; and the government seemed to be acquainted with the operations of the order in all of the States. All of these difficulties convinced the leaders of the Sons of Liberty that the time was not yet ripe for the insurrection.

Another conference between the Confederate commissioners and representatives of the State and county organizations was held at London, Canada, on August 7th. The representatives asked for another postponement until August 29, the date fixed for the Democratic national convention at Chicago. The reasons for this request were set forth in the following letter addressed to the three commissioners:

We have thought on the conclusion of this morning and feel constrained to say a few words more. We told you we could not approve the plan and the more we think about it the more thoroughly are we convinced that it will be unsuccessful. Time is too short to expect assistance, however willing they may be to assist. It will require some two days to travel back to places of residence and make arrangements about cashing drafts and procuring messengers of the right sort to go into the

¹⁵ June 28, 1864. Printed in full in the *Evansville Journal* Aug. 11, 1864.

different counties and give notice. This will require until Thursday to get the ear of our chiefs, which will give only one day to select and notify men that they are in for a perilous and uncertain campaign under men whom they know little about. . . . A movement unsupported by vigorous co-operation at Indianapolis and Springfield had better not be undertaken. We are willing to do anything which bids fair to result in good; but shrink from the responsibility of a movement made in the way now proposed, and have concluded frankly to communicate this to you. You underestimate the condition of things in the northwest. By patience and perseverance in the work of agitation we are sure of a general uprising which will result in glorious success. We must look to bigger results than the mere liberation of prisoners. We should look to the grand end of adding an empire of northwestern States.¹⁶

After due consideration August 29 was accepted by the commissioners as the final date. They insisted, however, upon no more delays. This date was considered particularly favorable for the inauguration of the revolutionary movement in Chicago—a time when the city would be crowded with visitors attending the Democratic national convention. The plan provided for transportation to that city a large number of the members of the order fully armed and equipped, ready for instant action. These were to be led by a band of Confederate officers and soldiers, who should go to Chicago from Canada by way of Detroit.

In the meantime the federal and State authorities were busily engaged in ferreting out the details of the conspiracy; Provost Marshal Sanderson was still investigating the operations of the C. A. K. in Missouri and Illinois; General Burbridge and Judge Advocate Holt were watching closely the movements of the Sons of Liberty about Louisville;¹⁷ Colonel Sweet had secret agents in the lodges in Chicago; and Governor Morton, assisted by General Carrington, was creating considerable uneasiness in Indiana by his unremitting efforts to expose the leaders.

Morton had information from New York that Walker was purchasing arms in that city, presumably for the Sons of Liberty. This information was confirmed about August 20 by a letter from New York, stating that:

Copperheads of Indiana have ordered and paid for 30,000 revolvers and

¹⁶ *The Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 567.

¹⁷ *O. R.* I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, p. 214.

forty-two boxes of ammunition to be distributed among the antagonists of the government for the purpose of controlling the presidential election. Thirty-two boxes of the above have been forwarded to J. J. Parsons, Indianapolis, via Merchants Dispatch and marked Sunday School books.¹⁸

Governor Morton put this information into the hands of the federal authorities and ordered an investigation of the facts. Sufficient evidence was secured to corroborate the statements in the letter from New York and to warrant a search of the private office of Mr. Dodd, the Grand Commander of the Sons of Liberty. The provost marshal found there thirty-two boxes containing some 360 to 400 navy revolvers and 135,000 rounds of ammunition; about two bushels of the rituals of the Sons of Liberty; a roll of the members of the order in Indianapolis; and considerable correspondence between Mr. Dodd and prominent Democrats in the west.¹⁹

All this information was made public, and the excitement aroused by the exposure led the Indianapolis *Journal* to call a meeting of the people in the governor's circle for the evening of the 22nd, "to consider the present aspect of political affairs in the State."²⁰ This meeting was, of course, a Republican gathering. Resolutions were adopted expressing the alarm of the citizens at the threatening danger from secret orders and condemning the Democratic party for its alliance with these enemies of the government. Governor Morton was present and in a rousing speech added to the excitement of the occasion by declaring that the arms and ammunition seized on the preceding Saturday were but a drop in the bucket compared to the immense quantities that had been imported into the State in a similar manner during the past twelve or eighteen months.²¹ He was confident that the Confederate authorities were furnishing the money for the supplies and were using the Sons of Liberty for the purpose of stirring up civil war in the northwest. Nor did he let the Democratic party escape a severe flaying at his hands.

Look at the composition of the Democratic State ticket now before the people. Five men upon it are members of the Sons of Liberty—one-half of

¹⁸ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 408.

¹⁹ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 119; Testimony of Col. A. J. Warner.

²⁰ *O. R.* I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, p. 295; Indianapolis *Journal*, Aug. 22, 1864.

²¹ Chicago *Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1864.

the whole ticket. This secret order is but the nucleus; it does not embrace all the traitors, nor indeed the principal ones. It probably embraces the greater part of the rank and file of those who are willing to go into this movement, but the men who expect to reap the fruit of this revolution, these it does not include.²²

So severe was his arraignment of the Democratic candidates on the State ticket that they were forced to publish a denial of membership in the order or of any knowledge of any conspiracy against the State or federal government.

The campaign of 1864 was at its height just at this time and no better ammunition could have been furnished the Republicans than the evidence of a deep-rooted conspiracy against the federal government. Governor Morton, who was a candidate for re-election, made the most of it in his debates with McDonald, the Democratic nominee for governor. He lost no opportunity to attack the secret societies. At Lawrenceburg he again spoke of the seizure of arms belonging to the Sons of Liberty at Indianapolis; and that while McDonald was not a member of the order, he had been nominated by it, and was associating with five of its members on the State ticket. The Republican speakers and press all over the State took advantage of the conspiracy to insure a Republican victory at the polls in October.

This exposure at Indianapolis was another serious blow to the plans of the conspirators, but it was not sufficient to put a stop to the preparations for the insurrection August 29. Mr. Thompson expressed his confidence in the favorable outcome of the movement. In his communication to Mason and Slidell, August 23, 1864, he said:

I am addressing every energy that is practicable and reasonable to assist the northwestern people and everything justifies the belief that success will ultimately attend the undertaking. In order to arouse the people political meetings, called "Peace meetings," have been held and inflammatory addresses delivered and whenever orators have expressed themselves for peace with the restoration of the union, and if that can not be, then peace on any terms, the cheers and clamor of the masses have known no bounds.²³

The Confederate commissioners completed their arrange-

²² Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 411.

²³ *The Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 509; Thompson to Mason and Slidell, Aug. 23, 1864.

ments for the insurrection. Captains John B. Castleman and Thomas H. Hines were appointed by Mr. Thompson to lead the expedition against the United States prisons in the northwest. They selected a detail of some sixty Confederate soldiers, then in Canada, including Colonel G. St. Leger Grenfell, at one time Morgan's chief of staff; Colonel Vincent Marmaduke of Missouri; Colonel Benjamin Anderson of Kentucky; and Captain Cantrill, formerly of Morgan's command. They understood that they were to co-operate with the Sons of Liberty, who should gather ostensibly to stand the Democratic convention; free the prisoners during the confusion of the convention; and then inaugurate the revolution which would spread rapidly over Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.²⁴

Neither the Sons of Liberty nor the Confederate commissioners took into account the presence of spies in their midst. State and federal officials were in close touch with the movements of the secret order. Colonel Sweet, who was in command of Camp Douglas, received information of the intended attack on the camp, reinforced the garrison and sent United States Detective Thomas H. Keefe to Canada to accompany secretly the Confederate soldiers to Chicago.²⁵

On the 27th and 28th of August the detail of Confederate leaders reached the city in small parties, "assuming the appearance and conduct of men attracted by the political interest of the occasion." Other Confederates came from the south through Indiana and Illinois. The 29th of August found the city crowded with Democrats from all the northern States. Among them were the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, who were there to attend not only the national convention, but also a meeting of the Supreme Council of the order. The *Chicago Tribune* of August 27 said:

The city is full to overflowing already with the gathering clans of Copperheads, Butternuts, O.A.K.'s, Sons of Liberty, original peace men, gentlemen from Canada, Fort Lafayette graduates, and border rebels under military parole; all assembling for the last time under the soiled banner of Democracy to put in nomination the last Democratic presidential candidate. Dick Dodd, Grand Commander of the Sons of Liberty in Indiana, made his appearance yesterday. It is not known how many of his mid-

²⁴ O. R. I, Vol. XLV, pt. I, p. 1077, Report of Col. Sweet.

²⁵ William Bross, *Sketch of Col. J. B. Sweet*, 17.

night assassins accompanied him, but it is generally known that a large number have been regularly detailed for duty at the Chicago convention.

The headquarters of the Sons of Liberty and the Confederate officers was the Richmond hotel, at the corner of Lake street and Michigan avenues. Over their suite of rooms was the sign, "Missouri Delegation."²⁶

The Sons of Liberty were opposed to the nomination of McClellan for President and favored Governor Seymour of New York. Their policy was to pack the convention with Seymour delegates, nominate him, and adopt a radical peace platform.²⁷ They had two meetings of the leaders at the Richmond hotel during the convention. Mr. Vallandigham, Supreme Commander of the order, presided. In a speech he said that he had come to Chicago expecting a repetition of the Charleston convention—a split in the party—but since his arrival he had changed his opinion. Instead of discord he found a wonderful unanimity of feeling and oneness of ideas. He advised the nomination of McClelland and the united action of all Democrats for his election.²⁸

The "peace Democrats" in the northwest had a strong following in the convention and Vallandigham, their leader, secured the incorporation of a plank in the platform demanding a cessation of hostilities and a convention of States in order to restore "peace on the basis of the federal union."²⁹ But the order of the Sons of Liberty, of which the same leader was the Supreme Commander, was in such a minority in the convention that from the beginning their influence amounted to little. On the second day Mr. Olds, a delegate from Ohio, suggested that the Sons of Liberty might have a communication to make to the convention, but he did not press the matter, and the suggestion was ignored by the chair.³⁰ There was a rumor that Governor Seymour and other leading Democrats had a conference with Mr. Vallandigham and insisted upon an abandonment of the conspiracy, to which the latter

²⁶ *Everybody's Magazine*, Jan., 1900, p. 85.—Personal account by Col. Thos. H. Keefe.

²⁷ Statement of H. H. Dodd, March 16, 1903.

²⁸ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 149; Testimony of James B. Wilson.

²⁹ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 523.

³⁰ *New York World*, Aug. 31, 1864.

consented with reluctance. This rumor, however, cannot be verified.

On the night preceding the convention the Confederate leaders called a meeting of the officers of the Sons of Liberty, assured them that their part of the plans were complete, and informed them that the 8,000 Confederate prisoners in Camp Douglas were ready to co-operate in the revolutionary movement. They requested definite information from these officers concerning the strength of the armed force which the representatives of Mr. Vallandigham had agreed to provide. Much to their disgust they soon learned that these officers of the secret order had failed to carry out their part of the agreement and had not properly informed the members in the county Temples. They found that those who had come to Chicago were totally without organization and initiative. They deemed it necessary to adjourn the conference to the evening of August 29 in order to give these officers time to collect their scattered forces and report the actual number under their control. When the Sons of Liberty, then in the city, learned that the order was to meet with no consideration at the hands of the national convention, and that heavy reinforcements had arrived at Camp Douglas, they became demoralized. It looked too much like a struggle to these valiant knights. As soon as they met with the Confederate leaders on the 29th the latter realized that these men were not the material out of which soldiers are made and that the attack on Camp Douglas would have to be abandoned. As a last resort they proposed that the Sons of Liberty supply Hines and Castleman with a force of 500 men to capture the arsenal and free the prisoners at Rock Island. They argued that so small a force could quietly take possession of a passenger train leaving Chicago at 9 p. m., and, by cutting the telegraph wires, could reach Rock Island without their presence being known to the federal authorities. But this again smacked too much of real danger to suit the taste of the wary chieftains who had been so courageous while the Confederate money was being supplied to them so lavishly. Realizing that all prospects of an uprising in the northwest were at an end, at least for the

present, most of the Confederate veterans returned to Canada or to the southern States through Illinois and Indiana.

Viewing the situation from this distance the question arises: What was there in the condition of things to warrant the hope of carrying out such an extensive conspiracy? In the first place, as has been stated, the Confederate commissioners knew of the serious disaffection existing in the northwest, particularly along the Ohio river. They also knew that at this time there were nearly 30,000 Confederate soldiers in prisons located in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and that these prisoners were guarded by only 5,000 or 6,000 federal soldiers, most of whom belonged to the Veteran Reserve Corps, and were wholly ineffective for active service.³¹ The release of such an army of well-seasoned troops in the midst of a disaffected country, they felt confident, would turn the tide of war in their favor. At least in the desperate straits then confronting them the Confederacy could not lose by the attempt.

But they put too much confidence in the statements of the leaders of the Sons of Liberty. They failed to estimate correctly the character of these men and their followers. They did not realize that the secret order was sadly lacking in organization and capable leadership. It was true beyond a doubt, as Holcombe said, that these States were "fermenting with the passions out of which revolutions are created,"³² but the fermentation had not reached a stage in which it could seriously affect the entire northwest. The attempt to inaugurate a counter revolution was destined from the beginning to be a fiasco. The Confederate commissioners failed to estimate the deep undercurrent of loyalty which permeated the great northwest.

5. TREASON TRIALS IN INDIANA

The results of the Chicago convention cleared the air considerably and convinced the peace Democrats and, particu-

³¹ *O. R.* II, Vol. VIII, p. 996, contains August report; Prisoners distributed as follows: Camp Douglas, 7,000; Rock Island, 8,000; Alton, Ill., 1,200; Camp Chase, Ohio, 5,000; Camp Morton, 5,000; Johnson Island, 2,500.

³² *New York Herald*, July 31, 1872, Holcombe to Benjamin.

larly, the Sons of Liberty that they could not count on the sympathy of the Democratic party. Their chief support was gone and the order now dwindled into impotency. Only here and there did it show any animation or desire to continue its opposition to the administration and the war. As far as menacing the government of the States of the northwest was concerned the danger, which had never been formidable, was entirely gone, and the authorities might have looked upon the operations of these revolutionary agitators as a huge farce. But these operations supplied campaign material of such excellent quality that it could not be disregarded by the Republican campaign managers. The arrest and trial of the leaders in the closing weeks of the campaign supplied the Republican press and speakers with additional damaging evidence against the Democratic party.

Mr. Dodd returned to Indianapolis after the convention declaring that the charges of conspiracy made against the Sons of Liberty were without foundation. He urged the people to withhold judgment until the charges were substantiated.¹ A few days later he published an address in pamphlet form, written by Walker, and under the imposing signature of the supposed "Committee of Thirteen," in which he asserted that the charges were "absolutely and wickedly false."

Whatever may be the views and wishes of individuals, the object charged is not comprised in the purpose of the organization. A Northwestern Confederacy, it is true, is not an impossibility, but its establishment would be the effect rather than the object of an uprising of the people: an event which the continuance of the acts of tyranny of the party in power will certainly produce.²

In this address Dodd seriously implicated the Democratic party by declaring that

The immediate purposes of the Sons of Liberty and the Democratic party were identical.

Mr. Dodd was arrested some time about the 7th of September, 1864, by Gen. Alvin P. Hovey. Between that date and October 10 a number of arrests were made, including the four major generals of the Sons of Liberty, William A. Bowles,

¹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 5, 1864.

² Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 414.

Andrew Humphreys, Lampdin P. Milligan, and Stephen Horsesey; the deputy Grand Commander, Horace Heffren, and the Grand Secretary, William H. Harrison. J. J. Bingham, editor of the *Sentinel*, and a number of lesser lights in the party were also arrested.

On September 17 General Hovey appointed a military commission to try Dodd for conspiracy. The commission met on September 22 in Indianapolis, with Judge Advocate Major H. L. Burnett as the prosecuting attorney for the government. The council for the defense objected to the jurisdiction of the court, insisting that the civil courts were open and that the State was not under martial law—a condition necessary to the jurisdiction of a military court.³ Mr. Burnett defended the jurisdiction of the military tribunal by claiming that martial law was declared when the President issued his proclamation of September 25, 1862, subjecting all aiders and abettors of the existing insurrection to martial law. The objections of the defense were overruled, and on the 27th of the month the judge advocate presented five charges against Mr. Dodd, as follows:

1. Conspiracy against the government of the United States.
2. Affording aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States.
3. Inciting insurrection.
4. Disloyal practices.
5. Violations of the laws of war.

Under these charges were various specifications, which were in substance as follows:

Membership in the secret societies known as the Order of American Knights and Sons of Liberty, whose purpose was the overthrow of the government; holding communication with the enemy; conspiring to seize munitions of war stored in the arsenals and to free the rebel prisoners in the north; and attempting to establish a Northwestern Confederacy.⁴

To all of these charges the accused pleaded not guilty and the examination of witnesses began at once. Much to the surprise and consternation of Mr. Dodd, the first witness introduced by the government was none other than Felix G. Stidger,

³ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

former Grand Secretary of the order in Kentucky, with whom Dodd had frequently conferred, and in whom he had placed implicit confidence, never suspecting that he was a government detective. Mr. Stidger related the entire history of his connection with the Sons of Liberty; his efforts to prevent them from suspecting his true character; his frequent conferences with the leaders; and a full explanation of the unwritten work of the order. He testified that he had attended a number of meetings of the Grand Council in Indiana and Kentucky; that he was present at one of the meetings in Indianapolis in June, 1864, when all the accused were there; that they all agreed to the murder of United States Detective Coffin, who had divulged the secrets of the order; that the council voted to complete the military organization of the State as soon as possible; that Mr. Dodd had divulged to him all the details of the plans for the uprising which had been agreed upon in Chicago; and that Dr. Bowles had discussed with him the military plans of the order.⁵

Mr. Stidger was the principal witness for the government and he gave some damaging first-hand testimony, but his evidence concerning the grand conspiracy was merely a repetition of what Mr. Dodd and Judge Bullitt had told him. Furthermore, Mr. Stidger detailed at length a conference which he had with Mr. Heffren, who was afterward tried for treason and conspiracy. Heffren later turned state's evidence and, in a seemingly truthful story of his relations to the order, denied ever having met Stidger. The judge advocate cross-questioned Mr. Heffren on this point closely, but failed to convince the latter that he had met Mr. Stidger. The council for the defense cross-examined Mr. Stidger at great length on this same point, but all that we have of the examination is the following statement by the official stenographer:

A lengthy cross-examination here took place, but no additional facts were elucidated.⁶

This explanation is not made in order to minimize the value of Mr. Stidger's testimony, but merely to give it its true perspective. It is interesting to note in this connection that

⁵ *Ibid.*, 19-38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

in the official report of the trials at Indianapolis the cross-examinations were seldom published, particularly those of government witnesses. This is not proof positive that the authorities desired to give the public only that part of the evidence which portrayed the accused and the organization in the worst possible light, yet the reader of the trial proceedings is led to wonder if that is not the case.

Mr. Stidger's testimony was followed by that of several others. Joseph Kirkpatrick, of New York, testified to the sale of the arms which had been found in Mr. Dodd's office and to a contract for 2,500 more revolvers and 135,000 rounds of ammunition.⁷ William Clayton related the history of the order in Illinois, and told of the military organization and the plans for the uprising in the northwest.⁸ Wesley Tranter testified that he had been a member of the order, but that when he learned its treasonable purposes he determined to expose it; that he knew of the importation of arms into the State for the purpose of aiding the rebels; that the leaders of the order had arrangements made for murdering Governor Morton; and that they were in constant communication with the rebels.⁹

At the opening of the court on October 7 the commission was furnished with a great surprise. The judge advocate arose and said that the accused, Mr. Dodd, had escaped from confinement and therefore could not be produced in court. According to the report of Colonel Warner, who was in charge of the prisoner, Dodd had made his escape from his quarters in the third story of the postoffice building by means of a rope which had been conveyed to him by some of his friends. No serious effort was made to recapture him and, as afterwards learned, he leisurely made his way to Canada.¹⁰

The Republicans found in this incident another proof of the treasonable character of the accused, of the order which he represented, and especially of the party to which he belonged. Occurring only four days before the State election, it furnished an excellent climax to an already exciting campaign.

⁷ *Ibid* 38.

⁸ *Ibid*, 41.

⁹ *Ibid*, 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 50.

In the Indianapolis *Journal* Colonel Carrington published an address, in which he declared:

The exposure of the Sons of Liberty has been made. Every word is true. Harrison H. Dodd, Grand Commander of Indiana, has been on trial. Proof was overwhelming. Night before last he escaped from the third story window by a rope. Only one man was in the room with him. That man was Joseph J. Bingham. Innocent men do not do so. The act confesses the guilt. Not one-fourth of the testimony had been offered before Dodd fled. I am no politician. I know from two years' labor what this secret order means. Citizens, every day shows that you are upon the threshold of revolution. You can rebuke this treason. The traitors intend to bring war to your homes. Meet them at the ballot box while Grant and Sherman meet them in the field.¹¹

The Democratic press, on the other hand, saw in the escape of Dodd an effort of Governor Morton to

Get up a show conspiracy against the government, to be exposed upon the eve of the election, and afford a fund of political claptrap to assist the Republicans in carrying the State.¹²

The Indianapolis *Sentinel* hinted that Dodd was in complicity with Morton, and the Cincinnati *Enquirer* wondered how Mr. Dodd contrived to escape to Canada when the State was so crowded with spies and secret policemen, every one of whom knew him.¹³

The judge advocate rested the case against Dodd and asked for an adjournment, during which time he wished to prepare the papers for the prosecution of other prisoners. In October the commission met again and the judge advocate submitted the case of Dodd and asked the commission to proceed to its finding and sentence. Arguments were made on both sides. The counsel for the defense maintained that martial law did not then exist in the State of Indiana, and that, therefore, the military tribunal had no jurisdiction. Further, that the evidence offered before the court was principally hearsay and totally insufficient to prove the accused guilty of treason and conspiracy.

Mr. Burnett, in his reply, argued that when General Hovey convened the commission within the limits of his juris-

¹¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, Oct. 8, 1864.

¹² Chicago *Times*, Oct. 22, 1864.

¹³ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 340. Contains open letter by Mr. Dodd, denying all complicity with the administration party and exonerating the Democratic leaders from any connection with the "Dodd Conspiracy".

diction with orders to try the case of Dodd, he, by virtue of his military power as the representative of the commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, suspended the civil law and put in operation the military or martial law. As to the evidence given under oath, Mr. Burnett asserted that

It was of such a character that no argument of the counsel, or finely drawn sophistries can change the perilous and treasonable nature of the circumstances testified to. The proof shows that there exists in this State an organization numbering from fifty to eighty thousand men, military in character, and about two-thirds armed, ready at any time to be called out to obey the orders of their superiors, regardless of the law and authority of the United States.¹⁴

After a brief deliberation the commission found Dodd guilty on all the charges and specifications and sentenced him to be hanged at such time and place as the commanding general of the district should designate. The finding and sentence were later approved by the judge advocate general, but Mr. Dodd's escape to Canada made it impossible to carry them into effect.¹⁵

When the commission met again, October 21, the judge advocate preferred the same charges against William A. Bowles, Andrew Humphreys, Horace Heffren, Lambdin P. Milligan, and Stephen Horsey, as against Dodd.¹⁶ In this second trial the accused and the public were furnished several surprises. J. J. Bingham, Dr. James B. Wilson, and William H. Harrison, who were under arrest, were released on condition that they testify as witnesses for the government. Their testimony was by far the most important given before the commission. They related in detail their connection with the secret societies. Harrison verified the documents and reports which had been seized in Mr. Dodd's office; stated that he knew of the plans for the insurrection and the presence of arms in the city for that purpose; admitted that he was employed as Grand Secretary of the Sons of Liberty at a salary of \$800 a year; and that he destroyed the records of the order when the plans were exposed by General Carrington.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 69-71.

¹⁵ *O. R.* II, Vol. VII, p. 1214.

¹⁶ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 74.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 90 *et seq.*

Mr. Bingham related the facts in connection with Dodd's request for the call of a Democratic mass meeting, August 16; the effort of Democratic leaders to put a stop to the proposed uprising; denied any knowledge of the military department of the organization and declared that he had taken no part in the operations of the order after the meeting, February 16, 1864, when he became convinced that it was all a "humbug."¹⁸

Dr. Wilson testified at length regarding the meeting of the Supreme Council at Chicago, July 20. He told of the plans for the uprising as agreed upon there; the presence of Confederate agents in that council; the distribution of Confederate funds to carry out the insurrection; and also of the Supreme Council meeting in Chicago during the Democratic convention when Mr. Vallandigham was present and spoke in favor of accepting McClellan as the Democratic nominee for the Presidency.¹⁹

The greatest surprise of the trial was the release of Horace Heffren, who turned state's evidence and appeared as a witness for the government. He explained the relations of the two departments of the order—the civil and military; stated that Mr. Bowles was commander of the military department in the State; had worked out an elaborate system for organizing companies of infantry, lancers, and artillerymen; admitted that he was Grand Seignior of the Temple in Washington county which embraced 1,000 to 1,100 members; but claimed that he had severed his active connection with the order after the Grand Council meeting in Indianapolis in February, 1864; and told of the military plans for the insurrection on August 16, adding that Governor Morton was to be seized and held as hostage for those engaged in the uprising who might be taken prisoners. James S. Athon, secretary of State and a member of the Sons of Liberty was to be made governor. The insurrection failed, he said, because of the prompt action on the part of Messrs. Kerr, McDonald, and other Democratic leaders.²⁰ Fifty-two other witnesses were examined concerning the order in various parts of the State,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 98 *et seq.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 145 *et seq.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 123 *et seq.*

and the connection which the accused men sustained to its operation. A careful reading of the testimony as reported by the official court stenographer and afterward published in book form by him furnishes ample proof of the statement made by the attorneys for the defense that the evidence of some of the leading witnesses for the State was full of inaccuracies, that it was chiefly hearsay, and that the reputation of the witnesses themselves for truth and veracity could be fairly questioned. Whole pages are devoted to the effort of proving general bad character of these witnesses.

The examination of witnesses was completed, November 25, and the court adjourned until December 6, to allow the counsel time for the preparation of their final arguments.²¹

When the commission met on the 6th, Jonathan W. Gordon, counsel for Dr. Bowles and Mr. Humphreys, discussed at great length, the question of the jurisdiction of the court. He quoted extensively from English and American sources in his efforts to define martial law. He denied the right of the President to proclaim such law and declared that it did not exist in Indiana and that, therefore, the military court could not entertain jurisdiction in the case.²²

Martin M. Ray continued the argument for the defense confining himself chiefly to the question, whether or not the Sons of Liberty was a conspiracy, *per se*. He asserted that no interpretation of the written work of the order could justify such a charge. The fact that those men held to the abstract doctrine of state sovereignty as embodied in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 was not sufficient to justify their arrest on the charge of conspiracy. He did not deny the military feature of the order nor "that a few desperate men of that branch in and out of the State sought to precipitate the order into a revolution," but he did deny the complicity of his clients, Messrs. Humphreys and Bowles, and the mass of the membership of the Sons of Liberty, in this conspiracy.²³

John R. Coffroth then spoke in defense of Lambdin P. Milligan, reviewing the five charges against the accused. He

²¹ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 425.

²² *Indiana Treason Trials*, 219 *et seq.*

²³ *Indiana Treason Trials*, 224 *et seq.*

asserted that Mr. Milligan's political views, his opposition to the policies of the administration, and his sympathy for the northwest were shared by men of all parties who felt that her interests had been made to pay tribute to New England. He attacked savagely the testimony of the government witness, describing Horace Heffren as that "mud-sill of infamy, who turned informer to purchase his own release." Of Tranter, Teney, and Robertson he said, "a case must be desperate, indeed, which relies for support on the testimony of such witnesses," and of Zumro he declared that in every statement he was impeached by respectable witnesses.²⁴

The Judge Advocate, in his extended reply to these arguments of the counsel for the defense, maintained the jurisdiction of the court on the ground of the President's proclamation and the necessity of the crisis. Speaking concerning the latter point he said:

It has been proved beyond question that a conspiracy more extended, more perfect in its organization, and more damnable in its design never was concocted or brought into existence under any government since governments were first instituted. It has been proved that this conspiracy existed in almost every town and county of the State; and not only in this State but in the States of Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, and Ohio; that it was thoroughly organized and partially armed; that all the objects contemplated by the order were illegal, treasonable, and damnable; that its lurking venom permeated all grades of society. . . . The danger from this conspiracy was imminent, requiring prompt action, and a strong and vigorous arm; that there was an overpowering necessity for military interference on the part of the government.²⁵

Concerning the general purposes of the order, the judge-advocate said:

The proof most clearly demonstrates that the common design of the order was to reorganize the government on the same principles which were the foundation of the present rebellion, and are the cardinal principles of the Confederate government. . . . The order was political in its character only so far as it intended and did attempt to educate the masses of the Democratic party up to this belief.²⁶

After a brief consultation the commission found all four of the accused guilty of the charges preferred against them.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 238 *et seq.*

²⁵ *Ibid*, 266.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 273.

Bowles, Milligan, and Horsey were sentenced to be hanged "at such time and place as the commanding officer of the district shall designate."²⁷ Humphreys was to be confined at hard labor during the war, but his sentence was afterward commuted on condition that he would confine himself within the limits of Wright and Stockton townships, Greene county, Indiana, during the remainder of the rebellion.²⁸ These sentences were approved by President Johnson and the execution of the three prisoners was set for May 19, 1865.²⁹ In the meantime they were confined in the military prison at Columbus, Ohio. Three days before the time fixed for the execution President Johnson commuted the sentence of Horsey to life imprisonment and postponed the date of execution for Bowles and Milligan to June 2.³⁰

Meanwhile the three prisoners presented petitions to the United States circuit court for the district of Indiana, to be discharged from unlawful imprisonment, claiming that they were not, when arrested, in the military or naval service of the United States, and, therefore, were not subject to the jurisdiction of the military tribunal.³¹ They prayed to be turned over to the proper civil tribunal, to be proceeded against according to the law of the land, or discharged from custody altogether.³² The circuit court certified to a difference of opinion between the two judges on the question of the jurisdiction of the military commission and the cases were taken to the supreme court of the United States for decision.

The friends of the accused exerted every effort to secure pardons for the prisoners, but the President steadfastly refused their requests. Instructions were sent to General Hovey from the war department to pay no attention to writs from any civil court but to carry out the sentence decreed by the commission, unless otherwise ordered by the authorities at Washington. Preparation was made for the execution of the orders. The gallows were erected on the parade grounds by Confederate prisoners from Camp Morton.

²⁷ *O. R.* II, Vlo. VIII, 10, 548.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 548.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 587.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 897.

³² *Ex parte* Milligan, 4 Wallace 2.

As the date set for the execution approached, the conservative Republicans realized the gravity of the situation. Governor Morton conferred with Judge David Davis of the supreme court, who was confident that the military court was illegal because martial law did not exist in Indiana, and the civil courts were open. The governor at once wrote to President Johnson, recommending a commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment. Later, he sent other urgent requests, reiterating the recommendations in his first letter. One of these requests was carried to Washington by Mrs. Milligan. Finally, Governor Morton despatched John W. Pettit, speaker of the Indiana house of representatives, to the capital to protest against the execution of the prisoners. After two lengthy conferences he succeeded in securing commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment. A cipher message was sent to General Hovey by the war department ordering him to transport the prisoners under sufficient guard back to the Ohio penitentiary where they were to be kept at hard labor for life.³³

The case of Milligan came up for argument in the supreme court in March, 1866. J. E. McDonald, J. S. Black, James A. Garfield, and David Dudley Field were counsel for the petitioner. Mr. Speed, attorney general of the United States, Mr. Stanberry and Benjamin F. Butler, special counsel of the United States, appeared for the government. The only question at issue before the court was the jurisdiction of the military tribunal. Able and elaborate arguments were presented by both sides. On April 3, 1866, the court decided that the military commission had no jurisdiction. In this opinion the court said:

No graver question was ever considered by the court, nor one which more nearly concerns the rights of the whole people; for it is the birth-right of every American citizen, when charged with crime, to be tried and punished according to law. . . . The constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government.

³³ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, pp. 427, 428.

As to the source from which the military commission derived its power the court declared it could not be found in the constitution, act of Congress, or mandate of the President; that it was not complete under the laws and usages of war; that:

Martial laws cannot arise from a threatened invasion. The necessity must be actual and present; the invasion real, such as effectually closes the ports and deposes the civil administration. None of these conditions existed in Indiana at the time of the arrest and trial. . . . Therefore one of the plainest constitutional provisions was infringed when Milligan was tried by a court not ordained and established by congress and not composed of judges appointed during good behavior.

Concerning the crimes imputed to Milligan the court said:

If guilty of these crimes imputed to him, and his guilt had been ascertained by an established court and impartial jury, he deserves severe punishment. Open resistance to the measures deemed necessary to subdue a great rebellion, by those who enjoy the protection of government, and have not the excuse even of prejudice of section to plead in their favor, is wicked; but that wickedness becomes an enormous crime when it assumes the form of a secret political organization, armed to oppose the law, and seeks by stealthy means to introduce the enemies of the country into peaceful communities, there to light the torch of civil war, and thus overthrow the power of the United States.

On April 10, 1866, the war department, directed by the President, ordered the discharge of the prisoners³⁴ who returned to their homes in Indiana after an imprisonment of eighteen months. Indictments were later found against all of the accused, including Dodd. Milligan was arrested and compelled to give bail, but the cases never came to trial.

In the spring of 1868 Milligan brought suit against the members of the military commission for damages. The case, however, was not tried until 1871. Thomas A. Hendricks was the leading counsel for Milligan and Benjamin Harrison for the defendants.

The trial was a long one and a great part of the history of the Sons of Liberty was given in evidence. Judge Drummond charged the jury, that owing to the two years statute of limitations, the defendants would not be liable for any act prior to March 13, 1866, but that they would be liable for any imprisonment subsequent to that time, which was the result of the previous trial and conviction.³⁵

³⁴ O. R. II, Vol. VIII, 10, 548.

³⁵ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 431.

The jury, evidently not disposed to favor Milligan, realizing that the evidence compelled a decision in his favor, brought in a verdict for damages amounting to five dollars. The Democrats hailed the decision the supreme court and this later decision of the State court as a complete vindication of Milligan from the charges preferred against him. This was not a correct inference, because the only question at issue in these cases was the jurisdiction of the military tribunal.

Although this last decision closed the real history of the secret orders in Indiana, in press and on platform, echoes of its purposes and operations were heard for a generation. Republican orators in every campaign paraded its treasonable character before the public as an illustration of Democratic disloyalty. As late as 1882 Senator Daniel W. Voorhees was the victim of a scathing attack on this score in the Senate at the hands of Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas. And today, in the southern part of the State survivors of those days eagerly dwell on the "dangerous and widespread conspiracy" of the Knights of the Golden Circle and Sons of Liberty.

6. THE CAMP DOUGLAS CONSPIRACY

The humiliating failure of the attempted insurrection during the Democratic national convention in August, 1864, convinced the Confederate commissioners in Canada that the Sons of Liberty could not be depended upon to lead a revolutionary movement in the northwest. Mr. Thompson, writing in December to the Confederate secretary of war, said:

This nomination (McClellan's) followed as it was by divers disclosures and arrests of persons, prominent members, totally demoralized the Sons of Liberty. The feeling with the masses is as strong as ever. They are true, brave, and, I believe, willing and ready, but they have no leaders. The vigilance of the administration, its large detective force . . . added to the large military force stationed in those States, make organization and preparation almost impossible. A large sum of money has been expended in fostering and furthering these operations and it seems to have been to little profit.¹

He recommended that, for the future, they exert their efforts toward inducing those who were conscripted to make

¹ O. R. I, Vol. XLIII, pt. 2, p. 931.

their way south to join the southern army. The commissioners then turned their attention to the naval operations on the Great Lakes, the history of which does not belong to these pages.

Captains Hines, Cantrill, Anderson, and a few of the Confederate officers who still lingered in the vicinity of Chicago, did not consider the situation so hopeless. They continued to believe that members of the secret organization could be used to advantage in fomenting a revolution in the rear of the union armies. They conferred with some of the more radical peace men and found that they were still disposed to assist in an attack on Camp Douglas for the purpose of releasing prisoners.

Tuesday, November 8, the night of the Presidential election, was selected as the time for this second attempt. Public interest at that time, they thought, would be centered on the result of the election and the presence of a large body of men from southern Illinois, members of the Sons of Liberty and southern sympathizers, would not create any suspicion in a city the size of Chicago.² Furthermore, the garrison at Camp Douglas had been reduced to 800 men, chiefly of the veteran reserve corps, Colonel E. J. Sweet, commanding. At this time the prisoners numbered between 8,000 and 9,000 Confederates, many of whom were reckless bushwhackers from Morgan's band of raiders.³ Captain Hines was confident, that if these men could be set at liberty, they would create consternation in the northwest. He supplied additional funds for the undertaking. Agents were sent into southern Illinois to arrange for the transportation to Chicago of 1,500 Sons of Liberty and southern sympathizers.⁴

The small Chicago contingent, in the meantime, was employed in the purchase of arms, and the manufacture of ammunition. The home of Charles Walsh, one of the most active of the Sons of Liberty, who lived within a block of Camp Douglas was made the store house and the factory for these amateur revolutionists. The campaign was to be under the direction of Captains Hines and Fielding, Colonels George St.

² *House Exec. Doc.* No. 50, p. 58; Testimony of John T. Shanks.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 188; Testimony of Col. B. J. Sweet.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 558; Testimony of Thos. J. Sears.

Leger Grenfel, and Vincent Marmaduke. The plans in general were the same as those adopted for the uprising on August 29, with the exception that the field of operation was to include only Indiana and Illinois. At a given signal on the night of election Camp Douglas was to be attacked from three sides and the Confederate prisoners were to rise in revolt and overpower the guards; arms were to be seized in different parts of the city; telegraph wires were to be cut; banks robbed; and a band sent west to free the prisoners at Rock Island and seize the arsenal. These things accomplished, the forces were to move through Indiana and Illinois, accumulating strength as they proceeded south, to a chosen rendezvous on the Ohio where a junction was to be made with the Confederate forces under Forrest then in Kentucky.

There was some reason for their confidence in a successful attack on Camp Douglas, for, according to Colonel Sweet's testimony, there were not more than 250 men on duty at any one time. The camp, including an area of sixty acres, was surrounded by a board fence twelve feet high and could be easily assailed from either side. A band of 500 men on the outside, working in conjunction with 8,000 seasoned Confederate soldiers on the inside, could readily overpower so small a garrison.⁶ Moreover, the time chosen was a most seasonable one. In the midst of the rejoicing over the result of the election the firing of signal rockets would not be noticed and the presence of the citizens down town would leave the region about the camp practically free of inhabitants.

But the Confederate leaders were again at fault in their estimation of the character of the men with whom they had to deal. Informers were within their own camp. A majority of the members of the Sons of Liberty were men of small calibre and little honor and they admitted into their confidence, as did the order in Indiana, men who had no scruples against the role of informer. These men offered to report the transactions of the order for a stipulated sum per report. Colonel Sweet employed not only these men, but two Confederates who were willing to betray their comrades.⁷ To verify

⁶ *O. R. I.*, Vol. XLV, pt. I, p. 1078; Report of Col. B. J. Sweet.

⁶ *House Exec. Doc.* No. 50, p. 190; Testimony of Col. B. J. Sweet.

⁷ John T. Shanks, and Maurice Langhoun.

the reports of these informers he enlisted the services of Colonel Thomas H. Keefe, of the war department secret service, and Captain E. R. P. Shurly of the veteran reserve corps, acting adjutant general at Camp Douglas.⁸ Since the fiasco of August 29, Colonel Sweet had not ceased his vigilance. He learned through these agents that the plan for the release of prisoners had not been abandoned, and that some of the Sons of Liberty were still plotting with Confederate officers. At his request General Hooker, commander of the department, came to Chicago to confer with him. A number of conferences were held with the military, State, and city authorities, all of whom were convinced that a plot for the release of the prisoners was developing.⁹ Colonel Sweet learned that Brigadier General Walsh, military commander of the Sons of Liberty, had notified the order in the southern part of the State that the administration intended to interfere with the election in Chicago by military force, if necessary, in order to secure a Republican victory. This was used as an excuse for arming the members in Chicago, and arranging for the transportation of a large number of the order from the southern part of the State.

The election, it will be remembered, was to take place on Tuesday, November 8. On the 5th Colonel Sweet was informed of the arrival of a large number of suspicious characters from Fayette and Christian counties. On Sunday, the 6th, it became evident that additional bands had arrived in the city, many of whom were escaped Confederate prisoners of war and soldiers of the rebel army.

Colonel Sweet delayed making any arrests, hoping that by Monday, the 7th, all the leaders and many more of the men and arms of the expedition might be captured. But he decided, as he says in his report, that "the great interests involved would scarcely justify taking the inevitable risks of postponement." He, therefore, sent the following dispatch to Brigadier General John Cook, commanding the district of Illinois, urging him to send reinforcements at once.

⁸ *Everybody's Magazine*, Jan., 1900, p. 83.

⁹ *O. R. I.*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, p. 530; Col. Sweet to Gen. H. E. Paine, Sept. 27, 1864.

The city is filling up with suspicious characters, some of whom are known to be escaped prisoners, and others who were here from Canada during the Chicago convention plotting to release the prisoners of war at Camp Douglas. . . . My force is, as you know, too weak and much overworked, only 800 men all told, to guard between 8,000 and 9,000 prisoners. I am certainly not justified in waiting to take risks, and mean to arrest these officers, if possible, before morning. The head gone, we can manage the body. In order to make these arrests perfect, I must also arrest two or three prominent citizens who are connected with these officers, of which the proof is ample.¹⁰

Acting upon this determination, Colonel Sweet made arrangements at once for a raid on the conspirators. Colonel Lewis C. Skinner, commander of the Eighth veteran reserve corps, was sent with a squad of fifty men to search and guard the house of Charles Walsh; another squad, under command of Captain Pettipiece, was sent to surround the Richmond House; while a third detachment of 100 men, under Captain Strong, marched into the heart of the city to preserve order and arrest suspects.¹¹ After some difficulty Colonel Skinner gained admittance to Walsh's house where he arrested Walsh and three of the Confederate officers—Captains Cantrill, Travers, and Daniel. On the premises were found 210 double barreled shotguns and carbines; 350 revolvers; over 13,000 rounds of ammunition; 344 boxes of caps; 2 kegs of powder; bullet molds, pistol wrenches, and other implements for making cartridges. The shotguns were all loaded with cartridges, composed of from 9 to 12 largest size buck shot, and capped ready for instant use.¹²

At the Richmond House, Colonel St. Leger Grenfel and J. T. Shanks were arrested—the latter for mere form's sake, for he was employed by Colonel Sweet to spy on Grenfel. At the home of Dr. E. W. Edwards, 70 Adams street, Colonel Marmaduke and Captain Hines were known to be stopping. The former was secured, but the latter eluded Detective Keefe. Judge Buckner C. Morris, treasurer of the Sons of Liberty, was next arrested at his home, 6, Washington street. All of these arrests were completed before Monday morning. Reinforcements arrived that day from Springfield and all day

¹⁰ *O. R.* I, Vol. XLV, pt. I, p. 1079.

¹¹ *Everybody's Magazine*, Jan., 1900, p. 90.

¹² *O. R.* Vol. XLV, pt. I, p. 1081.

squads of federal troops and city police were busy arresting members of the Sons of Liberty, Confederate soldiers, and bushwhackers from southern Illinois. Before night 106 of these vagabonds, including the notorious Clingman, leader of a band of cutthroats, were put under arrest and imprisoned in Camp Douglas. A few days later a number of the Sons of Liberty were arrested, among them being Patrick Dooley, secretary of the Temple in Chicago, who had destroyed most of the papers belonging to the order.

These prisoners were examined at Camp Douglas by Colonel Sweet and his assistants. The testimony convinced him that the Sons of Liberty furnished the inspiration for this attempted insurrection and that some of the leaders were in consultation with the rebel officers.¹³ These arrests completely crushed the conspiracy and put an end to further efforts on the part of Confederate commissioners to use the Sons of Liberty in their desperate attempt to create a "fire in the rear."

This exposure, directly preceding the election, furnished the Republicans with a suitable climax to the campaign in Chicago and the northwest. The Republican press teemed with stories of the enormous conspiracy on the part of the Sons of Liberty and claimed, that since only Democrats belonged to the order, the Democratic party was responsible for these treasonable designs. "Vote for Abraham Lincoln!" was the final warning to all "loyal citizens." This blow, coming as it did on the very eve of election, came too late for the Democrats to prove the unreasonableness of the accusations, and so they were forced to go before the people on election day carrying this additional blot on their loyalty.

The exposures of the Sons of Liberty in Indiana, the arrests in Chicago, the glorious victories of the union armies, and the defeat of McClellan at the polls, completed the demoralization of the Sons of Liberty, and the order ceased to exist.

The history of the society, however, is not complete without a brief account of the trial of the Chicago consipartors in the spring of 1865. A military tribunal was convened in Cincinnati on January 9, composed of officers of the army, with Major H. L. Burnett, judge advocate of the department of the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1080.

Ohio, as prosecutor. After several preliminary sessions the commission met on January 11, and proceeded to the trial of Charles Walsh, Buckner S. Morris, Vincent Marmaduke, R. T. Semmes, Charles T. Daniels, George St. Leger Grenfel, and Benjamin M. Anderson.

The accused submitted a plea against the jurisdiction of the military commission, stating that, the offense charged, not being an infraction of any article of war, they were not amenable, therefore, to its jurisdiction. They prayed that the court would take no further cognizance of the matter, but remit it to the courts of the United States in the northern district of Illinois for trial. This prayer was denied by the commission.

The charges and specifications preferred against these men, practically the same in each case, were as follows:

1. Conspiracy, in violation of the laws of war, to release rebel prisoners confined by authority of the United States at Camp Douglas near Chicago, Illinois.

2. Conspiring to lay waste and destroy the city of Chicago, Illinois, by capturing the arsenal, cutting the telegraph wires, burning railroad depots, taking forcible possession of banks and public buildings, and leaving the city to be sacked, pillaged, and burned by rebel prisoners of war confined at Camp Douglas.¹⁴

To these charges each of the accused pleaded not guilty, and the commission proceeded to take evidence. Ninety-four witnesses were examined, and, although the testimony in the main related directly to the attempted release of prisoners at Camp Douglas, much of the history of the Sons of Liberty as divulged in the Indianapolis trials and told in these pages, was repeated at Cincinnati.

Among the prominent witnesses was Clement L. Vallandigham, who testified to his relationship with the order, but denied any knowledge of its military and treasonable character.¹⁵ His statements, however, are proven to be false by the published correspondence of the Confederate commissioners and the personal account of the attempted insurrection as told by Judge Thomas A. Hines, of the Kentucky bar, whose report is eminently reliable. Mr. Vallandigham may not have

¹⁴ *House Exec. Doc. No. 50*, p. 21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 502-518.

been implicated in the Camp Douglas conspiracy of November 8, but it is evident that he knew of the plots prior to that date, and assisted materially in perfecting them. He was too able and shrewd a man, however, to expose his hand at that time. Only the published documents of the commissioners and the personal account of Judge Hines have revealed his connection with the movement.

Another witness was Corning S. Judd, who admitted that he was Grand Commander of the order in Illinois, but asserted that the purpose of the society was nothing more than a closer organization of the Democratic party, and that the State council disbanded in July, 1864.¹⁶ The government examined a number of witnesses who had already testified before the military commission at Indianapolis; among them were J. J. Bingham, James B. Wilson, and Felix G. Stidger. In addition to these were the usual list of informers, whose reputation for truth and veracity, already questionable because of the role which they played, was rendered wholly unreliable by their seeming inability to tell the truth.

In the arguments the lawyer for the defense argued strongly against the jurisdiction of the military commission to try civil cases when the regularly established courts were open.

The judge advocate, in his reply, asserted that the military commission had its justification in the necessity of the case; that in time of war the executive for the time being becomes, and must be, all powerful; that the chief executive officer, as commander-in-chief, is the great fountain head of power, and transmits that power to his subordinates who exercise it in their departments.

In this department General Hooker is the direct representative of the commander-in-chief, the President; in this department he is the judge of the necessity which shall call a military court into existence, and of the means to be employed for the suppression of the rebellion; and there is no other power, judicial or legislative, that can judge of that necessity, or determine the means to be employed to meet the existing emergency.¹⁷

He admitted that some of the witnesses had been seri-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 541.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 577.

ously contradicted and impeached, but in the essential particulars, he contended that their testimony remained uncontradicted and was corroborated by a number of witnesses. Regarding the Sons of Liberty, he said:

That organization was based upon the theory that a State has a right to secede; that each State was sovereign and supreme in, and of itself, and that, therefore, the government had no right to coerce a State. . . . If this nation is merely a confederation of petty sovereign States—if this great republic is merely a combination of separate sovereignties, each having an independent right to secede at will, and the general government has no right to coerce a State which secedes from the general compact, and dissolves at will the general union, then, gentlemen, I have entirely misread our history; the Sons of Liberty are justified in their hostility to the government, and the south must go unrebuked for the fratricidal war which has devastated this land for the past four years. But these are the doctrines of the Order of American Knights and the Sons of Liberty; and the only point in which I can perceive that they differ from the rebels in arms against the government is that the latter have carried into effect what they believed, while the others have not. The one, having avowed his faith, shouldered his musket and marches to the battlefield to fight for the faith that is in him, while the other, with the instincts of a coward, says the doctrine in the abstract is right, but hesitates to join his brother to battle for it. The rebel, with greater consistency, says "That which is abstractly right, we will make practicable."¹⁸

The commission, after a session lasting from January 9 to April 19, brought in its verdict. Semmes and Walsh were convicted and sentenced to three and five years, respectively, in the Ohio penitentiary; Grenfel and Daniels were sentenced to be hanged; and Morris and Marmaduke were acquitted. Daniels had escaped from confinement during the trial and Anderson had committed suicide in prison sometime before the trial was concluded.¹⁹ Immediately after the verdict was rendered the members of the commission requested the commanding general to pardon Walsh and remit his sentence.²⁰ After a brief confinement both he and Semmes were liberated. Daniels was not recaptured and Grenfel's sentence was afterward commuted to "imprisonment for life, at hard labor, at the "Dry Tortugas," by order of President Johnson.²¹ It

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 585.

¹⁹ *O. R.* II, Vol. VIII, p. 684.

²⁰ *House Exec. Doc.* No. 50, p. 574.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 653.

appears, however, from the records that Grenfel was never taken to that island but to Fort Jefferson, Florida, from which place he escaped on March 7, 1868.²² With his escape the history of the Camp Douglas conspiracy was ended.

7. CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters the extent and operation of these secret political societies existing at the time of the Civil war have been related. This chapter will be devoted to the discussion of their actual influence on the struggle of 1861 to 1865. In order to do this we need to review the character of the membership; the political and military purposes of the majority; the relation of the societies to the southern Confederacy; the character of the witnesses who exposed the orders; and the role which partisan spirit played in these exposures and in the general estimate of the societies.

First as to the character of the membership. It will be remembered that the Republicans in every campaign attacked the Democratic party for harboring and fostering these treasonable societies, declaring that the leaders of the party, if not actually members, were in active sympathy with the purposes of the orders and expected to reap the results of their machinations. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, in a speech made in the House of Representatives in February, 1863, declared:

I verily believe the members of the Democratic party throughout the North are holding secret meetings under the name of the Knights of the Golden Circle, and plotting to seize the government and depose the President.

Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, in the same session declared:

There is not on this continent today, in any town, city, county or State, a political organization a man can enter and be a traitor but a Democratic organization.

Governor Morton repeatedly made similar assertions. As late as 1866 in his arraignment of the Democratic party, he

²² *O. R.* II, Vol. VIII, p. 928.

declared that the leaders, then managing the party, were the men who

Introduced and organized in this State the widespread conspiracy, first known as the Knights of the Golden Circle and afterward as the Sons of Liberty, which had for its purpose the overthrow of the State and National governments.

The Republican press, both east and west, was full of similar assertions, particularly during the political campaigns.

Such statements had more of vote-winning power than truth in them. While it is true that the membership in these organizations was recruited, almost to a man, from the ranks of the Democratic party, it is wholly unfair to assume that that party as a national organization in any sense fostered these secret societies. It is not even correct to assert that the Democratic party leaders in the States where the orders were most flourishing, were all in sympathy with them. Even in Indiana many of the prominent Democrats strongly opposed the establishment of lodges in the State, and when the treasonable plans of the few leaders of the order became apparent they offered to assist the governor in exposing them. It is true that Mr. Bingham, Mr. Milligan, Congressman Kerr and a number of prominent Democrats were members and took an active part in promoting the societies. It is also true that some of the leaders, Mr. Voorhees and others, who were not members, expressed their sympathy with the movement, and for that reason they deserved the severe condemnation which they received at the time. The prominent Democrats, however, who were directly implicated in the treasonable plots of August, 1864, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Governor Yates, of Illinois, in an address delivered in Chicago in November, 1864, said:

I do not believe that one-half—no, not one-fourth—of the Democratic party which is now ranged under the banner of McClellan and standing on the Chicago platform is disloyal to the country.

President Lincoln said to Senator McDonald of Indiana:

Nothing can make me believe that 100,000 Indiana Democrats are disloyal.

The facts seem to be these: the membership was composed chiefly of the more ignorant portion of the Democratic

party, and the societies were regarded from the beginning by the leaders, as a thorn in the flesh which they tried to get rid of, but which they were forced to carry until the wound festered and left a scar which did not disappear for a generation.

In a determination of the purposes of these orders we need to consider not only those stated in the rituals and those indicated by the treasonable conduct of some of the leaders, but also the intentions, as far as they can be determined, of the mass of the membership. Judge Advocate Holt, in his extended report to Secretary of War Stanton in the fall of 1864, summarized the purposes of the order and set forth eleven specific aims which the leaders had in view from the beginning. They are as follows:

1. Aiding soldiers to desert and harboring and protecting deserters.
2. Discouraging enlistments and resisting the draft.
3. Circulating disloyal and treasonable publications.
4. Communicating with and giving intelligence to the enemy.
5. Aiding the enemy by recruiting for them or assisting them to recruit within our lines.
6. Furnishing the rebels with arms, ammunition, etc.
7. Co-operating with the enemy in raids and invasions.
8. Destruction of government property.
9. Destruction of private property and persecution of loyal men.
10. Assassination and murder.
11. Establishment of a Northwest Confederacy.

These purposes, according to his report, were to be accomplished by means of both the political and military departments of the order; the latter being well-armed and ready for an aggressive movement.

As to the political purposes of the order, the constitution of the Sons of Liberty gave as its object the maintenance of constitutional freedom and states rights, as recognized and established by the founders of the republic. The Declaration of Principles in the Vestibule degree indicated the same purpose. It was this degree alone which a majority of the members took. In other words, a majority of the members joined what they understood to be a Democratic club whose purpose was the maintenance of the established principles of the Democratic party. This conclusion is derived from the mass of evidence given during the trials and from investigations insti-

tuted at the time and from recent statements made by men well acquainted with the order. Of course, we need to take into consideration the fact that the members of the orders would not admit, even on the witness stand, any treasonable motives on their part; but the above conclusion is corroborated by the government witnesses who gave otherwise damaging testimony against the leaders in the August and November conspiracies. Even Mr. Stidger, whom the government regarded as one of its most reliable witnesses, admitted that when he initiated men into the order he was careful to say nothing about the unwritten military part of the ritual.

It is true that a large number of the members took part in the military drills at lodge meetings, and in some cases were organized into companies and regiments; yet the evidence indicates that a majority of these men understood that they were drilling for the purpose of protecting themselves, their property, and their rights, against what they believed, was the usurpation and tyranny of the Republican administration. There is no evidence to show that this majority had any intention of assisting the South. That there was a minority of the members who had treasonable intentions against the government cannot be doubted; but the declaration that all were conspirators who joined the organization, heard the ritual read, and took the obligation, is false.

It was repeatedly asserted that the members were in constant communication with the rebels. Individual members, possibly a considerable number, did aid soldiers to desert, harbored and protected the deserters, discouraged enlistment, openly and violently opposed the draft, hampered in every way possible the State and national administrations; and a smaller number secretly conspired with the Confederate agents in Canada to establish a Northwest Confederacy; but there is no reliable and sufficient evidence to prove that there was a well organized system of communication with the rebels by which they were assisted to recruit within the union lines, furnished with arms or ammunition from the north, or aided in the destruction of government property.

Frequently the statement was made that the orders knew of intended Confederate raids into northern territory. It is

absurd to suppose that the Confederates gave notice of such movements to these so-called friendly allies, for such information would certainly have defeated the purpose of the expedition. A careful search has been made through the Confederate sources, biographies, diaries, newspapers, and official reports, for some statement indicating the co-operation of the societies with the rebels, but nowhere has such co-operation been discovered, except the conspiracies on the Canadian border which have already been discussed. Further, the replies from a number of men in the south who were closely associated with the Confederate leaders deny any communication, whatever, on the part of the Confederate government with these societies. Judge Hines, from whom we have quoted at length in the preceding chapter, says on this point:

The assertion, which has been gravely and officially made, that there was at any time during the war a political organization, including northern and southern men alike in its ranks, and affording certain means of communication between the Copperheads of the north and the rebels of the south . . . was utterly without truth or foundation.

An examination of the evidence of the large number of witnesses who at different times gave testimony concerning the operations of the societies, will convince the reader that the officials of the government were hard pressed for straightforward and conclusive proofs to substantiate the extravagant statements which they made concerning the treasonable character of the orders.

Judge Advocate Holt, in his report, discussed at some length the witnesses and their testimony. He characterized them as shrewd, intelligent men, actuated by laudable motives; members of the order, who upon a full acquaintance with its principles, were appalled by its infamous designs; officers of high rank in the order, who were prompted to make confessions; all of whom he regarded as reliable and trustworthy men. He pointed out in particular, the testimony of the female witness, Mary Ann Pitman, who was the chief authority for Provost Marshal Sanderson's report from St. Louis concerning the co-operation of the northern branch of the order of American Knights with the southern branch under the command of General Sterling Price. A casual reading of her

sworn statement cannot fail to convince the reader of its credibility. The judge described Felix Stidger as a man of rare fidelity, who at great personal risk furnished the government with information leading to the exposure of the orders in Indiana and Kentucky. The suspicious character of some of Mr. Stidger's evidence has already been discussed. Another witness upon whom the government seemed to rely was J. Winslow Ayer, one of Colonel Sweet's agents in the Chicago lodges of the Sons of Liberty. Dr. Ayer was a street agent for a patent medicine. He came to Colonel Sweet and agreed to furnish him with information for so much per report. The colonel employed him, but had so little confidence in his reliability that he used government detectives to verify his statements. Ayer's account of the plotting of the Sons of Liberty, when measured by the testimony of other witnesses who were thoroughly acquainted with the facts, seems distorted and unreliable. In his testimony at Cincinnati he stated that he was a graduate of the Eclectic medical school of that city. A sworn statement of the dean of the faculty indicates that Ayer never attended a course of lectures in that school. Another witness of the same kind was Dr. Henry L. Zumro, the chief government witness against Milligan. He was a member of the Sons of Liberty and as such was employed by the government at a salary of \$100 per month to expose the disloyal intentions of his compatriots. His reputation was considerably clouded by the testimony of witnesses in the treason trials at Indianapolis, who testified under oath that his reputation for truth and veracity was bad. The efforts of the prosecution to impeach these statements concerning Zumro proved futile. In the main the important witnesses were men of no standing in the communities in which they lived. They were either men who turned state's evidence in order to save themselves, or men who took the vows and obligations of these secret orders with the deliberate and premeditated intention of violating these oaths and betraying their brothers, many of whom they were directly instrumental in bringing into the organizations.

Their evidence, however, was sufficiently consistent and corroborative on the main facts in the case, to warrant the

severe sentences meted out to the conspirators in both trials; these men deserved the extreme penalty of the law. But it was not sufficient to justify the extravagant statements made in the official reports implicating all the members of the orders in a grand conspiracy to overthrow the government by fomenting a revolution in the rear of the union armies. No such treasonable motives can be justly attributed to so large a body of northern citizens.

The influence which led to the extravagant reports and conduct of the government officials toward these organizations was the excessive partisan spirit then existing. Governor Morton and the leaders who joined him in hounding these societies to death regarded the safety of the union as dependent upon the supremacy of the Republican party. To them the government, the administration, and the Republican party were synonymous terms. Any citizen who attacked either was disloyal to his country. There was, too, an element of justice in this radical view. The government was engaged in a struggle for its existence. All the power and force at its command had been called into requisition, and after nearly four years of struggle, the enemy had not been overcome. At such a time opposition to the party in power becomes opposition to the government. As Governor Morton said in his proclamation of June, 1863:

That which is idle talk in time of peace may become aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war.

A rebellion can be aided in other ways than by food, clothing, arms, and medicine. It needs hope and sympathy; and nothing so buoyed up the hopes of the southern States as the signs of opposition and disaffection on the part of those who still maintained their allegiance to the federal government.

Governor Yates in his message of January, 1863, said:

The secessionists' strongest hope and main reliance is a divided north.

And Secretary of War Stanton declared:

A chief hope of those who set the rebellion on foot was aid and comfort from disloyal sympathizers in the northern States whose efforts were relied upon to divide and distract the people of the north and prevent

them from putting forth their whole strength to preserve the national government.

There were many in the north who opposed the war from humanitarian motives; many who were tired of the horrible waste of life and treasure; and many who honestly protested against the suspension of the rights of the citizen; but to the radical Republican it made little difference what the character of the opposition was. He who did not acquiesce in the judgment of the administration was a "traitor" and a "secessionist." The great mistake of the majority of the Democratic party was the failure to distinguish between partisan opposition in time of peace and in time of war. Their inclination to criticise severely the mistakes of the party in power furnished an excuse for the more radical opposition on the part of the extremists, as represented by the peace Democrats in the northwest. It also furnished a cloak behind which disappointed politicians of the type of Vallandigham, Dodd, Bowles, and Walker could organize secret societies, and in the name of these organizations carry on their treasonable conspiracies. In so far as the opposition encouraged such hostility to the administration it merits the severest condemnation.

The facts in regard to these societies and the acts of treason attributed to them seem to be about as follows: A dozen or more restless and unprincipled leaders in the Democratic party, who saw their political influence rapidly waning, organized these secret societies and drew into their folds a large number of ignorant opponents of the administration, who were dazzled by the elements of secrecy. Encouraged by the mushroom growth of the order and desirous of immediate political power, these leaders, tempted by Confederate money, conceived, in conjunction with the Confederate commissioners, a treasonable plot to overthrow the government in the northwestern States and organize the territory into a separate confederacy, or, failing in this, to throw the influence of these States to the south. It is not credible that a tenth of the nominal membership of the order knew of the plans for the uprisings and it is not at all probable that this tenth would have followed these leaders if the insurrection had actually broken out. From first to last these organizations were singularly

lacking in energy and initiative. They were as impotent for any concerted action as an association of children. Some of the officers commanding departments regarded their movements with alarm, and frequently urged the general government to adopt measures for their suppression. The President, and the authorities at Washington, on the other hand, while seriously disturbed by the widespread disaffection in the border States, looked upon the machinations of the leaders of these particular societies with "good-humored contempt" and saw in their movements a nearly equal mixture of puerility and malice. A careful investigation of all the available material regarding their purpose, membership, extent, and operations, has led the author of this monograph to the same conclusion.

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Editor of the Indiana Magazine of History,
Bloomington Indiana

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(Signed) -----

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General Joseph Bartholomew

By GEORGE PENCE

A FOREWORD

It was in the summer of 1894, while on a visit with my brother, Prof. William D. Pence, to our brother, the Rev. Edward H. Pence, D.D. (then the minister in charge of the First Presbyterian church at Janesville, Wisconsin), that it was proposed that we make the trip to Lodi, Wisconsin, a town some sixty miles to the northwest, to visit James Bartholomew. James Bartholomew, with whom the writer had been in a desultory correspondence for some time, was a son of General Joseph Bartholomew, one of Indiana's pioneers and in whose honor our county was named.

We desired to procure additional information concerning the noted man of whom so little had been published, and to make sure of our intent, Edward sent a telegram to the Presbyterian minister at Lodi, the Rev. James M. Campbell, D.D., inquiring whether or not James Bartholomew was still living there. The reply only increased our eagerness when we read:

James Bartholomew living here, quite aged and feeble and totally blind.

Dining enroute at Madison, the beautiful capital of Wisconsin, we took a Northwestern train for Lodi, some twenty miles to the north, where we arrived at one p.m.

Upon inquiring we found that Mr. James Bartholomew lived on a large and fertile farm about one mile north of the

town, and further that the last train south would be due in two hours. Promptly we procured a conveyance and within twenty minutes had reached the vine-clad cottage of Mr. Bartholomew, which stood in the center of a large tract of land owned by him.

Our knock at the door was answered by a matronly lady who, when we had given our names and had asked if we could see Mr. Bartholomew, asked us to await her announcement to him, as he was then lying, resting on his couch.

In a short time we were ushered into their pleasant sunny reception room. Mr. Bartholomew was standing in the middle of the room with his outstretched hands to bid us welcome; and after I had told him who we were, and introduced my brothers, he said, "Gentlemen, I feel that I am honored" and "I am glad to see you," and turning his face to the writer, added, "I have been wanting to see you for years."

The latter expression appealed to us, particularly, as he was totally blind, and as we afterwards learned he had been thus for over forty years, and that it had been caused from the "sore-eyes" contracted while a schoolboy—a malady then quite prevalent. His dignity, learning and courteous manner, together with his garb and the choker with which his throat was dressed, struck us as the old-time gentleman of the fifties.

We mentioned the object of our visit to be to procure some additional facts concerning his illustrious father and made inquiry why there had not been more published concerning him, when he told us the reason for this was the native modesty of the father; that he seldom made mention of his acts, and that it required some effort to persuade him to relate any of his adventures, even to his children.

He informed us that General John S. Simonson, late of Clark county, Indiana, had prepared a sketch at one time of the father, but for some reason or another it had never been published.

That Mr. James Bartholomew was proud of his father was without question to us, as this feature cropped out more than once in replying to our numerous inquiries.

Thus from facts secured from Gen. Joseph Bartholomew's own son, at an age when early recollections are vividly awak-

ened, as well as from other authentic sources, we propose to essay a readable tribute to a great man—one of the most noted of his time, of the unboastful sort, given more to the applied art of doing than to the fine art of telling about it afterward.

His days fell in the territorial times of the great State of Indiana, rough days, tough days and men-making days—the days of which William Henry Harrison, John Gibson, John Tipton and Joseph Bartholomew were products.

The times found the man; the man shaped the times. It is ours to save to memory the fame and story that we and posterity may go to school to them.

GENERAL JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW

Joseph Bartholomew was born in the State of New Jersey, March 15, 1766. At the age of five the family removed to the western frontier of Pennsylvania, settling at Laurel Hill, where they were the neighbors of General Arthur St. Clair, of Revolutionary War fame, and whom President Washington appointed as the first governor of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio.

Bartholomew's youthful days along the frontier were full of adventure and already at the age of ten years he had become expert with the rifle. When but eighteen he was rated as an "Indian fighter" and took an active part in the defense against marauding bands of Indians.

At this place, Laurel Hill, his father died, and he remained at home with his mother until 1788, when he was married to Christiana Peckinpaugh, and the newly married couple migrated to the then village of Louisville, Kentucky, locating some four miles east of the town.

On August 3, 1795, at Greenville, Ohio, Mad Anthony Wayne concluded his celebrated treaty with the belligerent Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees and other tribes, and Bartholomew, either as a volunteer or as an interested spectator, was present.

The result of this treaty was the cessation of general hostilities for a time by the red men against the whites, and was the first permanent cession of lands which, within a few

years, became a portion of Indiana. Bartholomew was engaged in the survey of the boundary lines covered in this treaty and later helped the government surveyors in running the subdivision lines of the First Principal Meridian. While he lacked the early education he was the growing man and kept apace with the surroundings, in time becoming a practical surveyor and in later days followed land surveying, and helped many of the incoming new settlers in locating their land warrants.

In 1798 he removed with his family to Indiana territory, settling in Clark's Grant near the town of Charlestown and it was here in 1809 that his wife died. The fruits of this marriage were ten children: *viz*: Joseph, Jr., who is buried in Clark county; Sarah, married Hugh Espy; John; Catherine, married a McNaught; Mary, married Patrick Hopkins; Amelia, married Patrick Hopkins, relict of Mary, deceased; Martha, married Gamaliel Vail; Christiana, married Isaac Epler; Marston Clark and Albert. There were no descendants or relatives, in 1894, of General Bartholomew by this marriage residing in Indiana, save a few through the daughter, Sarah Espy.

In the spring of 1811 General Bartholomew was married to a Miss McNaught, and it was about this time that by reason of his marked traits for leadership and under the threatened antagonism of the Indians of Indiana territory, that he was selected by Governor William Henry Harrison as lieutenant colonel of the regiment of militia.¹ Within a very few

¹ To His Excellency William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory:

SIR: The following gentlemen is recommended to fill the vacancies in the Militia of Clark County, ss: William Patrick, John McCoy, William Montgomery and James Bigger, Captains. John Jenkins, John Herrod, Jerry Joiles and John Chun, Lieutenants. Thomas Jacobs, Joseph Carr, Joseph Bowers and Joseph Stillinell, Ensigns. Col. Clark and William Gwathmey will attend to the vacancy occasioned by the death of Capt. Thompson. I have the honor to be very respectfully

Sir your Humble Servant

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW,
Commanding Clark Militia.

7th March, 1811.
(Address) Jeffersonville,
March 10.

HIS EXCELLENCY WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
Vincennes.

SIR: Inclos'd you will find a general Return of the Several detachments of the Militia from the Second, Fifth and Sixth Regiments of Indiana Militia. I

months, on September 12, 1811, we find his regiment with marching orders issued by the governor to rendezvous at Vincennes, this campaign including the memorable battle with the Indians at Tippecanoe on Thursday morning, November 7, 1811.

On September 14 we find Colonel Bartholomew with one hundred and twenty of the Clark county militia on the march and camped at the noted Half-Moon springs on the old French Lick road, four miles southeast of Paoli. On Wednesday, November 18, the troopers reached the territorial capital, Vincennes, reinforced enroute by the companies of Capt. Spier Spencer and that of Capt. Berry. Governor Harrison mustered the troops consisting of the United States regulars under Captain Boyd, the dragoons and the militia. The governor, as commanding general, issued his general orders appointing Major Joe H. Davis in command of the dragoons, and Colonel Bartholomew in command of the foot soldiers. On September 26 the American army, consisting of 910 men, is on the march and reaches old Terre Haute on October 2, where it is halted to build a fort, named for the governor, Fort Harrison. The fort was completed on October 28 and is garrisoned with a force when the main army, under orders, marched northeasterly toward Prophetstown, the town of Tecumtha and his half-blinded brother, the Prophet, Ells-kwa-ta-wa.

This vicinity was reached on Wednesday afternoon, November 6, 1811, and at a small prairie Colonel Bartholomew's foot soldiers placed their knapsacks in the wagons, were formed in line of battle and thus marched toward the Indians'

am sorry these are not more complete. The uncertainty whether we will March or not is very much in the way of having the companies complet in every respect. If we get a few days notice before we march I have no doubt but we shall appear in good order so far as Respects the companies from my Regiment. The following gentlemen were elected as Officers in the Militia of the Second Regiment of Indiana Militia; viz, William Kelly, Captain; Phillip Boyer, Lieutenant and Daniel Stark, Ensign in a new Company form'd in the upper part of the County—Toblas Miller, Captain in the Jeffersonville Company. Please to commission the above gentlemen. The light company mentioned in my last is not completed.

I have the Honor to be very Respectfully,
Sir, your Humble Servant—

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW,
Lieut. Col. Second R. I. M.

August 11, 1811.

town for over two miles and before halting surrounded the town.

The Indians met General Harrison and made a plea for peace, promising to give satisfaction the next morning. There was considerable trouble in this palaver with the Indians, as the Frenchman whom General Harrison had taken with him to act as interpreter, and who knew each of the chiefs personally refusing to attend the powow, being in fear of them, for as he termed it, that he "would be roasted."

That evening after the powow with the prophet—his brother Tecumtha was then on a missionary trip in the south to enlist the southern tribes into his confederacy, the American army selected a site for camp about one mile north of the Indians' town. This was on an elevated tract of woodland between Burnetts creek on the west and a prairie on its east, General Harrison selecting Colonel Bartholomew as officer of the day, and on his suggestion, based upon his knowledge of the Indian, the troops slept on their arms.

On Thursday morning, November 7, 1811, at four o'clock, Colonel Bartholomew is going the round of the sentries, a drizzling rain is falling and the darkness of the autumn morning is suddenly lightened by the glare of the fire from the rifles of the treacherous Indians who a few hours before had promised to give satisfaction at their peace powow. The fire from the Indian guns made it as light as day. Colonel Bartholomew assumed at once the command of the foot soldiers, but riding a very nervous horse found it difficult to handle him, and was greatly in fear of being thrown. His troops were armed with squirrel rifles, and as the Indians at the first had the advantage, it was here that through his tact he became master of the moment when he requested General Harrison to give him a company of regulars whose guns were equipped with bayonets. General Harrison at once gave orders for one of Captain Boyd's companies to follow Colonel Bartholomew, when a bayonet charge was made by these hardened regulars and the Indians were routed. This closed the short and decisive battle in favor of the American army, but in this charge, Colonel Bartholomew received an Indian's bullet through his right forearm, breaking both bones.

It was fully two hours before his wound was dressed and the bones of his arm were set, he sitting on a stump in the camp awaiting his turn, with the other wounded, for the surgeon, Dr. Andrew P. Hay, his neighbor at Charlestown, to give him the needed attention and professional service.

Ensign John Tipton in his memorable account of the Tippecanoe campaign, reports the American loss at 179 killed and wounded, 37 of his own company, including its captain and two lieutenants. John Tipton went home as captain of his company. Truly, it was a day of sacrifice when the lives of Owen, Spencer, Joe Davis, Warrick, and Judge White went out and an hundred others, but the red man was mastered in Indiana.

The victorious army, after burying the illustrious dead, returned with wounded to Vincennes, reaching there November 24. When the militia was mustered out, Colonel Bartholomew's wound gave him much trouble and he suffered throughout his entire after life from it.

He now returned to his farm, and it is at the next term of the territorial legislature that his successful charge and gallant fight at Tippecanoe is mentioned, and made a matter of record by a vote of thanks for his valiant services in the Tippecanoe campaign.

During the summer and fall of 1812 the western Indians became more fretful and a deplorable condition existed amongst the white settlers along the lower Driftwood and Muscatatuck rivers in southern Indiana, and on September 3, 1812, the deplorable massacre by the savages occurred at the Pigeon Roost settlement, some forty miles south of Columbus. In this twenty-four persons, mostly women and children, were slain by a straggling band of Shawnee warriors.

At this date General Bartholomew, whose home was less than twenty miles from the scene of the massacre, was away from his home, but a large force was soon collected at Charlestown which pursued the retreating Shawnees. This force was under the command of Captain John McCoy, of the Clark county cavalry. In an interview with the late F. C. Nugent, of Jonesville, Indiana, he mentioned that his father was a member of the company which followed the savages to the

banks of the Muscatatuck and where the Indians were soon located, but by the foolishness or cowardice of the captain, orders were given to sound the bugle, which was done and the murderous Indians escaped by swimming the river. It was the general expression of regret among the men that General Bartholomew was not in command, as he would have shown better judgment and courage and the savages possibly would have been punished. The elder Nugent never forgave his captain, and while of the same politics, ever refused to vote for him and denounced him to the day of his death.

In June, 1813, General Bartholomew, with one hundred and thirty-seven men, moved from Vallonia, in Jackson county, toward the Delaware Indian towns on the west fork of White river, some twenty miles above the present site of Indianapolis, with the intention to surprise and punish the Indians for some of their outbreaks and depredations. Lieutenant Colonel John Tipton and Major David Owen were his aides. The line of march was along the east side of Driftwood river through Bartholomew county along the present line of the Brownstown State road. Their trail was still visible seven or eight years later when the county was organized, settled and named for Bartholomew, and its nearest point to Columbus is immediately west of our Garland Brook cemetery, east of the city.

This expedition was of but short duration and in a skirmish with the Indians but one of them was killed and a member of the Jackson county militia was wounded. The line of march on the homeward trip of the troops was along the opposite side of Driftwood on the present line of the Mauck's Ferry State road, which passed through the Dwight farm, two miles west of the city.

At the site of Lowell bridge, four miles northwest of Columbus (this locality was geographically known in 1813 as the "Upper Rapids of Driftwood"), a bark canoe was made and the wounded Jacksonian was floated down Driftwood to his home at Vallonia. The date of this was June 20, 1813, as mentioned by General Tipton in one of the invaluable journals kept by him.

The Delawares still remaining peeved and unruly, the fol-

lowing month, July, 1813, Colonel William Russell, in command at Fort Harrison, at old Terre Haute, is ordered out with the regulars and the militia on a second expedition, northward on the same "Bartholomew Trail," through Bartholomew county, to disperse and punish the still hostile Delawares.

His force consisted of five hundred and seventy-three men, volunteers, militia and regulars, and among the latter Lieutenant Zachary Taylor, who was on the march through this neighborhood and who, thirty-five years later, was elected President of the United States.

One of the sons of General Bartholomew, who was a member of one of the companies of Clark county militia ordered out, was sick and his father, the general, requested to act as his substitute.

This was agreeable to Colonel Russell and he appointed General Bartholomew as his aide. Upon the march through this county the commanding officer was suddenly taken violently ill, when he at once called General Bartholomew to his tent and said to him, "General Bartholomew, I put my force under your command until I am better, and I give you full responsibility."

The Delawares were overawed by this large force of troops and ended their further warlike demonstrations in central Indiana.

Colonel Russell, in his report of the expedition to Governor Harrison, said, "Colonel Bartholomew acted as my aide-de-camp. This veteran has been so well tried in this kind of warfare that any encomiums from me would be useless."

This was the last Indian expedition of the doughty Bartholomew, and he now quiets down again upon his farm in Clark county which was located some two miles out from Charlestown on the Jeffersonville State road.

One of the questions asked James Bartholomew was how his father regarded the treatment of the whites toward the Indians in the encroachment upon their lands.

His reply was: "Father thought the Indians had been harshly treated by the whites," and then added with apparent pride, "But he killed as many of them as any other man."

James Bartholomew also mentioned that his father, who had met Tecumtha, regarded this Indian chief as the greatest diplomat he ever knew.

General Bartholomew erected the first brick farm house in Clark county, and according to the statement of Mr. Nugent, by reason of his very happy and jovial disposition and his love for young people, his home was the seat of constant gayety and hospitality. The general was an accomplished dancer and he took as much delight in that amusement as did the younger folks. His personal associations were of the highest and his social standing was the same.

In December, 1817, we find him as one of the essential eleven in the constitutional organization of the Grand Lodge of the Masons in the newly erected State of Indiana, which met at Corydon, the then State capital, his membership being at Blazing Star Lodge, No. 36, Kentucky.

This preliminary meeting adjourned to meet the next month at Madison. He is not mentioned as being present, yet later records show that he acted as Grand Treasurer and Grand Senior Warden *pro tem*.

In 1819 he was elected on the Whig ticket as a member from Clark county, in the State legislature, and in 1820 was one of the presidential electors of the State, which cast its vote for James Monroe. While a member of the Lower House, on January 11, 1820, a bill was passed to appoint commissioners to select a site for the permanent capital of the State, the federal government having donated four sections of its land for such purpose. In this act General Bartholomew was named as one of the ten commissioners.

The others named were Gen. John Tipton, George Hunt, John Conner, John Gilliland, Stephen Ludlow, Jesse B. Durham, Frederick Rapp, William Prince and Thomas Emerson. To John Tipton, the methodical man, we are again indebted for a written account of the trip northward through this portion of the trail, which later, in 1823, was surveyed by Tipton under the act creating a State road forty-nine feet in width from Mauck's Ferry on the Ohio river, northward through Corydon, Salem, Brownstown, to the newly made capital, Indianapolis. Tipton relates that on May 17, 1820, he, with

Conner and Governor Jennings, with Tipton's black boy, Bill, met General Bartholomew at Colonel Jesse B. Durham's at Vallonia, and with General John Carr and Captain Dueson, of Charlestown, they made the trip together, northward, along the trail mentioned above. The commissioners viewed several proposed sites, but before the end were divided only between the site at Waverly Bluffs, now in Morgan county, and one which was selected. General Bartholomew and four others, including Tipton, voted for the site which was selected, and which the following year was given the name of Indianapolis.

General Bartholomew used the spade to make the mound showing the location of the middle corner of the four donated sections, and, as James Bartholomew informed us, often claimed "to have dug the first dirt for the State capital."

This same year, 1820, he was elected to the State Senate from Clark county, and at the 1820-21 session of the legislature a bill was introduced to erect a new county out of Jackson and Delaware counties. This was the first proposal to form a county from the "New Purchase," as the territory purchased at the Saint Mary's treaty was called. This territory, which embraces nearly the whole of central Indiana, had by an act of the legislature been divided into two counties, making the Second Principal meridian as the dividing line. The western portion was called Wabash and the eastern Delaware county. In the former term of the legislature it was enacted that the permanent north line of Jackson county, when the New Purchase was opened for settlement, should be the line dividing townships 7 and 8 north. This line is an east and west line one and one-half miles south of Axalia in Bartholomew county. As the proposed new county would take of a three mile strip from Jackson county, there was developed a strong fight against the bill by the Jackson county representative, General Carr. Tipton, a member from Harrison county, was leading the fight for the lines of the new county as proposed and in the end won out. It was on Tipton's motion that the newly erected county was called for his old commander and leader in all of the campaigns in which they had both engaged, seeking the vanquishment of the red man in Indiana, General Bartholomew. It was near the last

days of the term, January 21, 1821, that the bill had passed both the House and the Senate and the act was at once signed by Governor Jonathan Jennings, on that date.

Generals Tipton and Bartholomew were of opposing political parties—Tipton being a Democrat, but this did not induce a lack of respect for each other.

After Bartholomew's services ended in the State legislature, in which he had served with conspicuous ability, in 1825, he returned to his Clark county farm, which then consisted of two hundred and thirty acres of excellent farming land. In this year General Bartholomew was appointed a member of the board of commissioners to make deeds of the lands in Clark's Grant and at a meeting of the board, August 20, 1825, he was made its chairman. The records show but one other meeting of the board, October 15, 1825, which he attended. Dr. Andrew P. Hay was then also a member of this board, which held its meetings at Charlestown. This was the last public service of General Bartholomew mentioned, and according to Mr. Nugent, he gave his full time to his farm.

One of Mr. Nugent's stories of General Bartholomew concerned the finishing of the large brick house which the general erected on his farm. The painter had taken great pains in graining the front door, and having completed a very handsome job of it, the owner came up to enter it, and not aware that the paint was fresh, put his hand on it to push it open, leaving an imprint of his hand very markedly. The painter was greatly put out about it, and grumbled at having to do his work over, but the general good-naturedly told him that it made no difference and to let it alone as it was, and so it remained with the mark of his hand plainly visible for nearly forty years.

It was while living here that Mrs. Bartholomew, the second wife of the general, died from the result of an accident. She was quite fleshy and was one day riding horseback, on the Charlestown and Springville road, when a sudden clap of thunder frightened her horse and throwing her, broke a leg. This injury was the cause of her death within a very few days.

The fruits of the second marriage were five children, *viz*: George McN.; Nancy, married James Bradley in McLean

county, Illinois; Angela, widow of William Merriam, living, 1894, in one of the Dakotas; James Currie, our host—named for one of the early sheriffs of Clark county, Indiana; and William Milton, then living at Pingree, North Dakota.

In 1830, by reason of being one of the bondsmen for Dr. Andrew P. Hay, who had been appointed by President Jackson, receiver of public monies at the Jeffersonville land office, and being called upon by the federal government for a settlement, a shortage was found. General Bartholomew, whose share of the defalcation amounted to some \$10,000, was compelled to sell his farm to make good for his neighbor. It was Doctor Hay who had dressed the general's fractured arm at the Battle of Tippecanoe and they had been personal friends for many years.

General Bartholomew sold his farm at eighteen dollars per acre which, as Mr. Nugent mentioned, was considered a very high price at the time, and taking his entire family, in 1831, removed to McLean county, Illinois, and thus it was that Indiana lost the citizenship of one of her most noted men and one of her foremost history-makers.

He purchased six hundred acres of government land in one body and soon settled down again to farming and improving his land. He was also engaged at his self-taught profession of land surveying. He founded a town on his land and called it Clarkesville, in honor of his old-time friend, Marston G. Clarke. This town is not now even on the map, but was located but a few miles from Lexington in the "Sangamon Country."

The United States government had granted General Bartholomew a pension, for wounds and disabilities received during the 1812 war, of twenty-three dollars per month. This he drew each year at New Albany, Indiana, and it was his custom to make this annual trip by horseback, the usual route taken by him being *via* Terre Haute, Spencer, Bloomington and Salem. It was recalled by the son that one of these trips was made by the State capital, Indianapolis, which site he had assisted to select, and it was thought that this trip included the trail through Bartholomew county, which had been

named for him—and of which the general and his family, as the son told us, were justly proud.

Another story mentioned by Mr. Nugent—and also related by the late David Deitz, the first treasurer of Bartholomew county, who had formerly been a neighbor in Clark county, was of the swarthy complexion of General Bartholomew, who was very dark-skinned.

When his neighbors heard that the new county being erected in the "New Purchase" was named for their noted neighbor, some jocular friend suggested that "the soil must be very black up there to suggest such a name."

In 1840, when General Harrison was nominated by the Whigs as their candidate for President, General Bartholomew, who had always been strong anti-Jackson and a staunch Whig, promptly rallied to his old friend and companion-in-arms.

He regarded General Harrison, as the son told us, as being the best off-hand speaker he had ever heard, and that General Harrison, when on the march, always encouraged his men and frequently made speeches to them to that end.

The Whig's battle-cry in 1840 was "Tippecanoe" and our old hero, who had taken such an active part in that battle along with the candidate for President, was soon identified in the political campaign. He saddled his horse and on its back traveled through Illinois and Indiana and in Kentucky for his candidate. General Bartholomew was in Indiana at the time of the monster Whig meeting, which was held at the "Battle Ground" and where he presided. It was claimed that seventy-five thousand people were present at this, said-to-be, the largest political meeting ever held in Indiana. A similar, huge meeting was held by the Whigs of Illinois during the campaign, at Springfield, where General Bartholomew was again selected to preside.

The old hero is now, in 1840, seventy-four years of age and the prolonged horseback exercise during the campaign had been too severe for him, having aggravated a chronic trouble, the inflammation of the bladder, and returning to his home he became violently ill on election day, November 2, 1840, and died the next morning at one o'clock.

He was buried at the graveyard at the village founded by

him, Clarkesville, and near his side is the grave of Captain James Bigger, who had commanded a company under General Bartholomew in several campaigns against the Indians.

It was not until 1895 that a suitable monument was erected at the grave of General Bartholomew, but on each Memorial Day it has ever been marked with garlands of flowers by the members of the G.A.R., who appreciate and honor the memory of as brave a soldier as ever lived and who helped to carve out two great States of the Middle West, Indiana and Illinois.

General Bartholomew was not large of stature, but was described as weighing about one hundred and forty pounds, about five feet eight inches in height, his form as straight as an arrow and of a very dark complexion. At the time of his death his hair was white as snow, although as shown in the two oil portraits now in possession of the board of county commissioners of Bartholomew county the hair is as black as the crow's wing.

These portraits were painted in 1826, and one of them, the family picture, was in the reception room at the time of our visit. The son told us that it was painted in Louisville and its old mahogany frame but adds to its ancient appearance. It was at the suggestion of the writer that a loving son, who desired to add honor to the father, should make a gift of the family picture to the authorities of the county which had been named for him.

It was the last official act in 1895 of the writer, who was retiring from the term of office of county auditor, to record the matter of the gift of James Bartholomew (whose death occurred a few weeks before) of this picture as the "property of the board of county commissioners of Bartholomew county, Indiana, forever."

The first portrait of General Bartholomew was procured as a gift, through the writer, by the widow of Judge New, the mother of J. Thompson New, of Clay township, in 1880. This picture was resurrected through the publication in George E. Finney's newspaper at Columbus, *The Columbian*, of some correspondence concerning the hunt for a picture of General Bartholomew. This picture, an unfinished one, had been in the possession of the News for over half a century and had

been painted by James New, a young art student, who died in the late twenties. The work was said to have been done at Salem, Indiana, and it is unquestionably a replica of the family portrait.

The writer has the pleasure to own the Masonic apron and sash which General Bartholomew wore. These have been loaned to St. John's Lodge No. 20, F.&A.M., at Columbus, and having been placed in a frame now hang on her walls. These were presented to the writer at the request of James Bartholomew at his death in 1895.

General Bartholomew was not a member of any church, but was a constant attendant of the Presbyterian. Mr. Nugent related that he was one of the most moral men he ever knew, and that he could not brook a vulgar or profane word from any one.

Here was a rare man, of the sort schooled in hardness for hard tasks. The crude environment with which he had to do, so impoverished of all we call necessities, was an incorporate part of the man. That unkempt soil, now so rich in answer to the returning toil, was then possessed by matted grasses, the impenetrable forests; the air was fairly redolent of malaria, a haunting, invisible, malignant legion of harrowing devils, which, peeved at dispossession, beleaguered with fateful vengeance the despoilers of their abode, the virgin soil.

These hardy sons and daughters of hardy fathers and mothers before them, told us little of their hardships. They little knew the stage they wrought for a civilization so soon to burst almost full-grown, and within less than a century. The mighty steam-boat, monarch and servant of commerce and civilization, made possible this western empire. Hardly a generation had gone, when the locomotive drove the steamer to exile. Now electricity haunts the locomotive with the dread of a new rival. A new conqueror arrives; gasoline threatens to conquer space, time, and the air trembles for its immemorial liberty. But let us not lay our emphasis here.

We were wondering, however, what our brave old hero of simple, but strenuous days, should say, could that Sangamon county graveyard give him back. Moreover, let us test if these, the complex, be better days after all. Do they iron and

nerve our arms to severer tests of the man and woman? Do the times, do the customs produce a more virile type of four-squared manhood? Do ethics, does religion mean any more to us, with our greater facility, than they meant to this man and to his contemporaries, who floored our stage for us to act upon?

Not ships, nor armies, nor millions make our land great, but her men. In the high virtues of physical, mental, moral devotion, do we now set to our children the killing pace which our fathers set for us?

Grave it deeply on the stone which we loyal men of Bartholomew county carve to our hero, that it was a great man whom we honor; great in virtue, in vision, in self-mastery; a man who held only vice in derision; and dying poor, with meagre acres to bequeath to his own, gave an empire to those whose deepest sin shall be to forget their great benefactor in the greed to exploit his benefactions.

Columbus, Indiana, March 15, 1896.

Warrick County Prior to 1818

By ARVIL S. BARR, A. M., Selvin, Ind.

For many years prior to the organization of Warrick county, the southwestern part of Indiana was in the hands of the Indians. On account of their migratory nature it is difficult to say just what Indian tribes inhabited these parts. The Miamis, Wyandots, Delawares, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Weas, and the Piankeshaws were the most closely connected with this part of the State. At one time the Delaware Indians had a village, called Delaware Old Town, near the present site of Newburg, Indiana.⁸ In 1801 there was another Delaware town on the Ohio opposite Henderson, Kentucky.⁹ Later there was an Indian town on the head waters of Little Pigeon creek. Some time before 1800 the Piankeshaws had two villages not far from Jasper, Indiana.¹⁰ The last Indian village in Warrick county was probably that of the Shawnees. This tribe, as late as 1812, was located near the mouth of Cypress creek.¹¹ Though it is said for a number of years that the Indians would occasionally return for a hunt on Pigeon creek.¹²

Many years prior to the first English settlement west of the Allegheny mountains, the Indians of the northwest found their favorite hunting ground in Kentucky. In late summer they would cross the Ohio river to take their annual hunt and return again in early winter. After the Kentucky hunting ground became the home of the white settlers, the region of the Ohio river became the fighting ground of the two peoples and from time to time it was necessary to send out regular expeditions to quiet the Indians.

Among the early expeditions of this kind was that of Colonel Josiah Harmar, who was sent to make peace with the

⁸ *The St. Clair Papers*, II., 26; *Readings in Indiana History*, 65.

⁹ *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, II., 7.

¹⁰ George R. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, 103.

¹¹ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 220.

¹² *Evansville's Men of Mark*, 9.

Indians around Vincennes.¹³ He was ordered to move his small army from Louisville, where he was encamped, to Vincennes. On account of the great difficulty and danger of traveling the Vincennes Trace, he decided to go by water. On July 6, 1787, Capt. David Zeigler, with sixty men, in eight boats, two keel boats, one small keel boat, and two canoes, laden with provisions, was dispatched from the Falls¹⁴ down the Ohio river.¹⁵ The next day Colonel Harmar followed with the rest of the army. On the 10th of July the fleet landed at what was called the "landing and carrying place"¹⁶ in what was later Warrick county. This landing was also called the "rocks" and was about eight miles above the mouth of Green river.¹⁷ From this point a trace ran to Vincennes.¹⁸ The fleet was put under the command of Maj. John F. Hamtramck and sent up the Wabash to Vincennes. On the 11th of July, Colonel Harmar, with the rest of the troops, started by land to Vincennes. The weather was rather warm and the men had to carry fifteen days' flour on their backs. Colonel Harmar, in describing the country, said: "From the Ohio, where we set out for the White river, we had a very difficult march, the country being full of thickets and scarce of water."¹⁹ After some years of desultory warfare, peace was concluded with the Indians in 1795.²⁰ The Ohio river was made the southern boundary line between the two peoples and neither was supposed to trespass on the land of the other. Nevertheless, the settlers in Kentucky soon made it a practice to cross over the river into the Indiana territory every fall to kill bear, deer and buffaloe, merely for the skins.²¹ In this manner they so thinned out the game in the southwestern part of the terri-

¹³ *The St. Clair Papers*, II., 22, note.

¹⁴ The falls of the Ohio were almost opposite the present site of Louisville.

¹⁵ *The St. Clair Papers*, II., 24.

¹⁶ *The St. Clair Papers*, II., 25, 26.

¹⁷ *The St. Clair Papers*, II., 26.

¹⁸ The exact course of this trace is not known. However, Colonel Harmar was familiar with it before making his trip down the Ohio. It is probable that it left the Ohio near the site of the present town of Newburg and continued nearly north along Big Pigeon creek hitting White river near the Western boundary of Pike county. *The St. Clair Papers*, II., 24, 25, 26, 27.

¹⁹ *The St. Clair Papers*, II., 27.

²⁰ J. P. Dunn, *Indiana*, 266.

²¹ Moses Dawson, *A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major-General William H. Harrison*, 8.

tory that the Indians began to complain of their injuries and again started their depredations. An interesting story of these early times was told to the father of Colonel Cockrum by Jean La Ture, a pioneer boatsman on the Ohio and Mississippi:

He (LaTure) said that his father was with Lafayette for a while during the Revolutionary War and afterward settled in Virginia, where he married a beautiful French woman. He himself had been born in Virginia and was about ten years old when his father resolved to move to Kentucky. After staying there three years he decided to come to Indiana territory and to Vincennes, where he learned he had relatives. "We had two horses," said LaTure, "and loaded one with our plunder and the other was for my mother and eight-year-old sister to ride. We started and traveled several days, coming to Green river. We followed it to the point where it runs into the Ohio and then could find no way to cross either river, so we went up the Ohio for seven or eight miles and found a family of friendly Indians, who carried us over in a canoe, the horses swimming. This was in the fall of 1803. We then traveled in a northerly direction for more than a day, when we came to a large creek (Big Pigeon). Following along this creek we crossed one of its forks (no doubt Big creek in Greer township, Warrick county) and continued for several miles farther and came to another fork (Smith's Fork). We did not cross this, but went up the south bank until we found some high land and selected a place for a camp, intending to stay a few days and rest. After being in camp about two days, nine or ten Indians came, pretending to be very friendly. We gave them food, which they ate, but after finishing their meal they jumped up so suddenly that we had no time to think; giving a loud yell one caught me, another my little sister and a third attempted to hold my mother, but she got hold of an axe and in the scuffle struck the blade in the Indian's thigh, severing the main artery, from which he bled to death. Another Indian ran up back of my mother killing her with a club. My father was killed at the fort by two Indians with clubs. About half of them took the dead Indian away and were gone for some time. The rest loaded our plunder on the horses and we went away to the north, leaving my father and mother where they fell, after taking their scalps. After wandering that day and a part of the next we came to a big Indian town near a river, which I think is now White river. My little sister was left there and I never saw her again. I was then taken to an Indian town near Lake Michigan and lived with the Indians for several years. I went with a party on a hunting expedition and was gone several days, during which trip I made my escape and met a party of General Harrison's soldiers after the battle of Tippecanoe and went with them to Vincennes. I went through the War of 1812 and since then I have hunted Indians and killed every one that I could find."²²

In 1804 the Indians were again brought to terms. By the treaty of August 18, 1804, the Delaware Indians ceded to the

United States all their rights to the tract of land which lay between the Ohio and Wabash rivers and below the tract ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne, and the road leading from Vincennes to the falls of the Ohio river. For this territory the national government gave the Delaware Indians an additional annuity of three hundred dollars; promised persons to teach them to make fences, and cultivate the soil; and lastly to give them horses fit for draught, cattle, hogs, and implements of husbandry to the amount of four hundred dollars.²³ On August 27, the Piankeshaws, who laid claim to the above tract, relinquished their title. As a compensation they received an additional annuity of two hundred dollars for ten years, and merchandise, provisions, or domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, at the option of the tribe, to the value of seven hundred dollars.²⁴ This treaty gave to the United States the extreme southwestern part of Indiana and at once settlers began to come into the country.

Previous to this the settlers had been warned to keep off the land of the Indians. Many emigrants from Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas had already squatted along the Ohio in Kentucky, waiting for the government to open up the new country. Immediately following the opening of this region, a large number of settlers came into southwestern Indiana. It was about this time that Warrick county got its first permanent settlers.²⁵

Nearly every locality has its "first settlers", but rarely do the first actual settlers of a community come down to the present as such. There are two kinds of first settlers: those preserved by tradition and those found in the records of the land entries. The first were prominent men of affairs in their neighborhood after it became more thickly settled. The second may or may not have been the first settler. In most all cases, however, the squatter preceded the so-called "first settlers." These facts must be borne in mind in reading the accounts of these "first settlers."

²³ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 171-3.

²⁴ *The American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I., 689.

²⁵ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I., 690.

²⁶ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 200.

The first white person to make a permanent settlement in what is now Warrick county seems to have been Major John Sprinkle.²⁶ He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1772, and later moved to Henderson county, Kentucky. During his residence in Kentucky he was awarded the title of major of the Kentucky state militia. He was a man of honor and high social standing in the community.²⁷ In 1803 he removed to Indiana, settling on the present site of Newburg, where he remained until his death in 1821.²⁸ In the fall of the same year (1803) James Lynn and Felty Hay moved into that neighborhood.²⁹ A little later Bailey Anderson crossed over the river from Kentucky and settled near the mouth of Cypress creek.³⁰

Like many of the early settlers, Bailey Anderson's entire baggage consisted of an axe, gun, and a supply of ammunition. It is said that while he was building his cabin he lodged at night in a tree. This novel bed was made by fixing pieces of timber across two branches of a tree and spreading over them, the skins of wild animals. This place was later known as "Bailey's Roost". A few months afterward four other families, the Briscoes, Skeltons, Vanadas and the Arnolds,³¹ moved into the vicinity. It was a desirable location and these were soon followed by others.

²⁶ James Lynn settled in Warrick county as early as 1801. However, this was not a permanent settlement. *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 191.

²⁷ The Sprinkles came to Henderson in 1792. Not long afterwards George Springle, probably the brother of Major Sprinkle, was captured on the Indiana side of the river by the Indians. However, he was finally surrendered to the American soldiers at Fort Wayne and allowed to return to his home at Henderson.—Monte M. Katterjohn, *Warrick and its Prominent People*, 69.

²⁸ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 21.

²⁹ Will Fortune, *Warrick and its Prominent People*, 16.

³⁰ Bailey Anderson was one of the leading men of the county. The exact date of his coming to the county is not known. Will Fortune in his book, *Warrick and its Prominent People*, gives the date of his coming as 1805. The *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties* gives the date as 1807. We do know that Bailey Anderson was on the rangers' service in 1807. His coming was some time prior to that. After having served on the Rangers, he was made captain of the Knox county militia, in 1808. It was at his house that the early courts of the county were held and he himself became judge of the court of common pleas of the county in 1813. The following year he was made an associate judge of the Warrick county circuit court. Nothing further is known of his life. *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, III, 148; Will Fortune, *Warrick and its Prominent People*, 16, 43; *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 24; William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 220.

³¹ Will Fortune, *Warrick and its Prominent People*, 17.

Although the first permanent settlement was made in the county as early as 1803, the land was not surveyed until 1805.³² Prior to this all the settlers were necessarily squatters. Even these, on account of the great distance they were required to travel to get a title for the land, many preferred to remain squatters. In 1807, William Johnson entered the first tract of land in the county.³³ This tract contained 205½ acres on the present site of Newburg. Other early land entries in the county³⁴ were made by Daniel Rhoads, in 1810; Richard Vankirk, Felty Hay and Solomon Land, in 1811; John Vanada, Joseph English and Ratliff Boon, in 1812.³⁵ Since these were the only land entries in the county down to 1812, it does not follow that these were the only settlers.

A great deal has been written about pioneers. The first inhabitants of Warrick county had much in common with all the early settlers in the State. Probably the only special feature of the county was the unusual abundance of game. The canebrakes along the Ohio river and the thickets along Big

³² *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 22.

³³ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 22.

³⁴ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 22, 2y, 27.

³⁵ Hon. Ratliff Boon, ex-governor of the State of Indiana was born in Georgia, (some say in North Carolina), in 1781. He was the cousin of the noted pioneer, Daniel Boon and the son-in-law of Bailey Anderson. His parents moved to Danville, Kentucky, and there he was put in the public schools. He also learned the trade of gunsmith. In 1809 he moved to Indiana settling about two miles west of the present site of Boonville.

Colonel Boon through his unusual tact and sagacity made himself one of the most prominent men in Indiana during the early days. He had force of character and had a way of making loyal friends. In 1812 he was commissioned lieutenant in the Fourth Indiana regiment. The next year Warrick county was organized and he became the first treasurer, which office he held until 1820. On the admission of Indiana into the union in 1816, Boon was elected to the State legislature as representative of Warrick county. In 1818 he was elected to the State senate. The following year he was chosen as lieutenant governor and upon the resignation of Governor Jennings he filled out the unexpired term. He was re-elected as lieutenant governor at the next election resigned on January 30, 1824 to become a candidate for Congress. He was elected on the Jackson Democratic ticket. He was defeated by Col. Thomas H. Blake for representative in the 20th congress. However, he was a member of the 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th congresses. With the 25th congress he ended his political connections with Indiana.

In 1839, Colonel Boon removed to Pike county, Missouri, where he was defeated by Thomas H. Benton in caucus, as a candidate for United States senator. This practically ended his political life. He died in 1846. Will Fortune, *Warrick and its Prominent People*; William Wesley Wollen, *Biographical and Historical sketches of Early Indiana*; *A Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774-1911*, 486; *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, III, 186, 208.

Pigeon, Cypress and Little Pigeon creeks were their favorite hiding places. A few stories of early hunting in the county have been preserved.

In the fall of 1807, when the deer were at their best and the bears fat upon the mast, Major Sprinkle and his two kinsmen, cousins from Pennsylvania, went a little way back from the river and made a camp, intending to have a week's hunting. They had been hunting two or three days when the boys had an experience, the marks of which they carried to the end of their lives. They had been following a drove of deer for some time, when they came upon an old bear and two cubs eating acorns under a white oak tree. One of the boys shot one of the small bears, knocking it down. The old mother and the other little one ran off. It seemed that the little bear was only stunned and was not fatally injured and was soon up, staggering around. The young men ran up to it, intending to finish it with their hunting knives. They laid down their guns, but had not quite reached the place where the young bear was, until the old mother came at them savagely.

They attempted to get their guns, but before they succeeded the old bear knocked one of them down. The other got his gun, but it was empty, and rushing at the bear that was fighting his brother he struck it over the head with the barrel of the gun. The bear knocked the gun out of his hands with such force that it broke his arm. The other brother, though badly wounded, got his gun and attempted to shoot the bear in the head as it was biting his brother, but his aim was so bad that he only slightly wounded it, and then the bear turned upon him and knocked him down, biting his legs in a fearful manner. The boy with the broken arm stabbed the bear many times with his hunting knife and finally hurt it fatally. It started, however, to follow the cubs, but had gone only a few yards when it laid down and died. The young men were found by the Major and taken to camp and then to his cabin, where they were for several months before they were able to be out. This experience satisfied their roving dispositions and they returned to their Pennsylvania homes.

Long after the game was thinned out of the surrounding country, the old Polk Patch, now Selvin, Warrick county, remained a good hunting ground. As late as 1824, David Johnson, Jessie Houchins, Joel Harden and Conrad LeMasters pitched their hunting camp at Polk Patch. On the first day they killed several deer and a bear. They were so successful in their hunting that they had more game than they knew what to do with. Of the deer only the hind quarters and the hides were aken, the rest left where it was killed. The second

²⁸ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 502.

day Mr. LeMasters was seriously hurt in a fight with a bear and the party had to return home.³⁷

The woods were full of troublesome and dangerous animals. The wolf was so despised that a price was put on his scalp. A wolf's scalp was worth two dollars.³⁸ The following incident, which took place at the Sprinkle settlement in 1812, is told of the most dangerous of these animals.

There was a young girl who lived with one of these families at the Sprinkles settlement who was expecting a sister from central Tennessee. She was very uneasy about her, fearing that she had been captured by the Indians. Late one evening, just before dusk, a whining, piteous cry was heard, which did not seem like the scream of a panther, as it was continuous. This girl heard the noise and declared it was the cry of her sister, and nothing could stop her from going out to it. Before the men in the fort realized her intentions, she was running in the direction of the noise. Three of the men got their rifles and hurried after her. They were uncertain what it was, thinking it might be the ruse of the Indians trying to imitate the cry of a woman or child to draw some of the people into an ambush. The men had gone nearly a quarter of a mile when they heard the most terrible scream of the panther mingled with the outcry of the unfortunate girl. Hurrying as fast as they could, when they located the scream, they were very cautious in their advance. Coming to an open space they saw several animals which were biting and scratching the body of the girl they had killed. The men killed the old panther and two of the young ones that she, no doubt, was teaching to scream, which was the cause of the peculiar noise which they had heard. After she had killed the girl she was teaching the young ones how to attack their prey, and she would bound onto the prostrate form and bite and scratch it. The kittens would go through the same motions and thus had torn her into pieces.³⁹

These pioneers had other things to do as well as to fish and hunt. Houses had to be built, land had to be cultivated, and homes protected. For many years the early settlers of Warrick county were continually in danger of Indian raids. Early in the first decade of the nineteenth century, in order to give them more safety, they enlarged the Old Indian Traces into a complete system of roads.

The first roads of the state were usually the old Indian trails or the Buffalo paths. Of these early trails probably the

³⁷ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 175.

³⁸ On December 24th, 1816, the Indiana legislature passed a law providing that for the killing of each wolf two months old and upwards, the person should receive \$2.00 and for wolves under that \$1.00. To get the pay the person had to produce the scalp, with the ears entire and within one month after the killing.

³⁹ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 503.

best known in the southwestern part of the State was the Vincennes Trace.⁴⁰ Long before the first white settlers came into the country this trace was a fairly well defined route, for both the Indians and Buffaloes, between the Bluegrass region in Kentucky and the Illinois prairies. Later it became one of the regular lines of travel leading into the interior of Indiana. There were two main branches of this trace, a northern and southern route. The northern route led from Louisville, Jeffersonville and New Albany by Greenville, Fredericksburg, Paoli, Mount Pleasant,⁴¹ and Maysville to Vincennes on the Wabash river.⁴² The southern route followed along the Northern Trace to Paoli where it branched off to the westward and entered Dubois County at Union Valley,⁴³ passed to the south of Haysville and Pottersville, leaving the county near the Miley schoolhouse,⁴⁴ thence through northern Pike county, crossing White river at Decker's ferry to the northwest of Petersburg, and thence to Vincennes on the Wabash.⁴⁵ These routes later became stage-coach roads.

Three other traces in southwestern Indiana were traveled previous to the opening of that region to settlement. The first of these, traveled by Colonel Harmar, has already been discussed. This trace, although important at one time, seems later to have disappeared but the other two routes; the Red Banks trace and the Yellow Banks trace, were well known to the early settlers. The Red Banks trace crossed the Ohio river at Red Bank Island, about a mile below the present site of Henderson, Kentucky, and ran northward through what is now Vanderburg and Gibson counties to Vincennes.⁴⁶ In 1801 Governor Harrison asked the national government to

⁴⁰ This trace was also known as the "Buffalo Trace", "Mud Holes", "Governor's Trace", "Louisville Trace", "Vincennes-Ohio Falls Trace", "Clarksville Trace" and the "Old Trace", *Readings in Indiana History*, 156; George R. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, 27, 100, 158; William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 223.

⁴¹ Mount Pleasant was on the east branch of White River, (Driftwood branch) in Rutherford township in Martin county.

⁴² *Readings in Indiana History*, 157

⁴³ Union Valley is in the Northeastern Dubois County near the central part of Columbia township. George R. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, 284.

⁴⁴ Miley Schoolhouse is in northwestern Dubois county in the southwestern part of Boone township. George R. Wilson, 284.

⁴⁵ George R. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, 27; *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, 1885, 251.

send a deputy to the Indians to arrange for the opening of this trace.⁴⁷ In 1802 the crossing at the Ohio river was made more convenient by the establishment of a ferry at Henderson by Jonathan Anthony.⁴⁸ Another ferry, called Blair's ferry, was established six miles farther up stream.⁴⁹ With the opening of the southwestern part of the state to settlement in 1804 this trace became one of the important routes to the interior.

The Yellow Banks trace⁵⁰ crossed the Ohio river at the Yellow Bank island, almost opposite Owensboro, Kentucky, and ran northward past Rockport, to the headwaters of Little Pigeon, thence near the present site of Selvin, thence in a northwesterly direction to Honey Springs,⁵¹ thence along the spring branch to the Little Patoka river, thence to the northward crossing the Big Patoka about forty miles up stream at a good ford and continued to the forks of White river and the Vincennes trace.⁵² This route, at first an Indian trace, was later used by the early settlers as a route to the interior.

With the opening of the southwestern part of the State to settlement, other routes of travel became necessary. One of the earliest of these ways of travel was the Blue River trace. This trace crossed the Ohio at the west end of the large bend about three miles west of Blue river and ran north hitting the Vincennes trace about forty miles east of the Mud Holes.⁵³ There was a road in Kentucky leading to the south bank of the Ohio. Two other traces appeared almost simultaneously with the first settlements. These were the routes to the salt works in southeastern Illinois. One of the most difficult problems of the pioneer was to keep a supply of salt. One of these salt routes ran from Vincennes southward, crossed

⁴⁶ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 324; Thwaites *Early Western Travels*, IV., 266; Samuel Cummings, *The Western Pilot for 1834*, 64.

⁴⁷ Moses Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, 18.

⁴⁸ Edmund L. Starling, *History of Henderson County*, 118.

⁴⁹ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV., 266.

⁵⁰ Yellow Banks was called Weesoe Wasapinuk by the Kickapoos, William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 174.

⁵¹ Honey Springs were in the southwestern part of Pike county near Spurgeon. *Historical Atlas of the State of Indiana*, 171.

⁵² William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 174, 212, 256, 156, 177, 205, 207; Samuel Cummings, *The Western Pilot for 1834*, 58.

⁵³ The Mud Holes were on the southern branch of the Vincennes trace almost south of Portersville.

White river near David Robb's place and the Patoka at John Severn's,⁵⁴ thence in a southwest direction to near the present site of New Harmony, thence across the Wabash river near the point where the Little Wabash empties into the main stream and thence to Saline creek.⁵⁵ Another one of these routes used by the early settlers for the same purpose, crossed the Wabash near the Saline region and followed the Ohio eastward, passing near the present site of Newburg, Indiana, then with the course of the river eastward across Blue river trace and probably to the Fall on the Ohio.⁵⁶ Before the settlement of this part of the State the Ohio trace had been a regular passway for the Indians from time immemorial.⁵⁷ On account of the scarcity of salt these routes were of extreme importance.⁵⁸

The early settlers down to 1820 experienced great difficulty in getting sufficient salt for cooking purposes and to save their meat. It was very hard to get and high priced, usually selling for ten to twenty cents a pound in backwoods currency.⁵⁹ The people were very saving with it. Meat was placed in a meat trough made of a poplar tree and salted. After the meat had taken all the salt it would, the brine which had collected in the bottom of the trough was saved to be used again. On account of the danger from Indian attacks, the early settlers from this region of the country went in squads to the salt springs and camped on the ground until they had sufficient salt for the year. The salt was sacked and brought home on horseback.⁶⁰

Bradbury in his *Travels in the Interior of America* (1809-

⁵⁴ In 1807 there were two ferries across the Patoka near the crossing of this trace, one by John Severn's and the other by John Miller's. Miller's ferry was about three miles above the mouth of Patoka river. *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, III., 140-1.

⁵⁵ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 216.

⁵⁶ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 220.

⁵⁷ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 221.

⁵⁸ In the fall of 1807 salt became so scarce and so high priced that a number of the settlers south of White river petitioned the governor for an escort of soldiers to protect them while on the trail and at the salt works west of the Wabash river. William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 216.

⁵⁹ However by 1823 the price of salt had fallen to 37½ cents a bushel at Shawneetown. *Niles Register*, XXIX, 165.

⁶⁰ Joseph P. Elliott, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County, Indiana*, 54; William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 474.

11) described the salt manufacturing at the Wabash Salt Springs⁶¹ as follows:

They first ascertain by boring at what depth they shall come to the rock, and afterwards look out for a hollow tree, which must be at least from three to four feet in diameter. This they cut down carefully for fear of splitting and saw off such a length as will reach from the surface of the ground to the rock. If the hollow of the tree is not large enough to allow sufficient space for a man to work within, they enlarge it. A well is next dug, and when so deep that there is danger of the earth falling in, the trunk is put down and sunk to the surface of the rock. After the influx of fresh water is prevented by calkins around the edges at the bottom of the trunk, the perforation is made. And the salt water immediately rises to the surface.⁶²

Some years later, in 1814, a party of men undertook to establish a salt well on Cypress creek, in Warrick county. This well was put down about two or three miles back from the Ohio river at a deer lick. After boring to a considerable depth without any satisfactory results the men engaged in the work became discouraged and abandoned the enterprise.⁶³ Another attempt was made on Pigeon creek. For a number of years, it was thought that salt water could be obtained on this stream. Two enterprising citizens of the county put down a well 528 feet deep and obtained a tolerable supply of salt water from which they made from twenty-five to thirty bushels of salt a day.⁶⁴ Not being satisfied, they bored deeper and hit mineral water which ruined the well.⁶⁵

Along in 1805, in 1806 and in 1807 the Indians were loud in their declarations that the whites should be driven beyond

⁶¹ The Wabash Saline springs were in the southeastern part of Illinois, along the Ohio river, below the mouth of the Wabash and near the present site of Shawneetown. These springs were so important that in 1802 they were taken over by the national government. *United States Statutes at Large*, 14th Congress, 1st session, ch. 67, 68; Moses Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, 30.

⁶² Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V., 276; for further references on this subject see: Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I, 108. III., 283; IV., 271; V., 276-8; Vincennes *Western Sun*, April 29, 1809; George R. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, 48.

⁶³ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 40.

⁶⁴ The salt springs of the west generally produced a bushel of salt from one hundred gallons of water. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 283.

⁶⁵ *The Indiana Gazetteer*, 1833, 30.

the Ohio river.⁶⁶ Bands of Indians were continually roving through the country to the south of White river.⁶⁷ They became more active than usual in their depredations. There is no doubt that many people of whom we have no account were captured or killed in attempting to settle in this part of the State. For the better protection of these settlers, Governor Harrison constituted in the early part of 1807, the Ranger service.⁶⁸ Col. William Hargrove, 69, was put in command of the troops in the southwestern part of the State. Under his protection two new traces were laid out and patroled.

The first of these routes, the Patoka trace, started near John Severn's (where the Redbanks trace crossed the Patoka river) and ran along the south bank of that stream, across the Yellow Banks trace and eastward to the Blue River trace. The second started from the Red Banks trace at a point fifteen miles north of the Ohio river and ran eastward parallel with that stream to the Blue River trace.⁷⁰ These traces as

⁶⁶ Following is an extract from a letter of W. H. Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory to Captain William Hargrove, in command of the Rangers which showed the attitude of the Indians toward the settlers beyond the Ohio river:

"The times are very unsettled. The Indians are continually grumbling because the white people are in this country and threatening that unless their lands are restored they will drive them back across the Ohio river. North of White river they could easily concentrate in such numbers that should they find our people unprepared, they could overrun the most of our territory. It is hard to tell anything about what an Indian will do when he has the advantage. They are the most treacherous, cunning rascals on earth and the most brutal as well. The only safe way is to keep the advantage on our side and put the Indians on the defense. When they know that your position makes one white man equal to ten Indians there is no danger of an attack." William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 218-9.

⁶⁷ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 201.

⁶⁸ Rangers were organized under officers the same as the regular army and paid the same as army officers of the corresponding rank. The rangers were to arm and equip themselves, and provide for their own horses if they wanted one. They were given a dollar a day with a horse or seventy-five cents without a horse.—Annals of Congress, 12th congress, 1st session, II. 2228; William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 202.

⁶⁹ Col. William Hargrove was born in South Carolina, 1775. He later moved to Kentucky and was there married. Here he spent three years in Indian service and showed himself to be a brave soldier. In 1803 he moved to Indiana settling near Princeton, Indiana. In 1807 and 1812 he was in the Ranger service. He was gradually promoted to the rank of colonel. In 1811 he served in the Tippecanoe campaign. William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 203.

⁷⁰ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 212-218.

well as the Vincennes, Yellow Banks, Red Banks, Ohio, and Wabash traces were regularly patrolled by two or three men twice or three times a week.⁷¹

Every precaution was taken for the safety of the settlers. They were required to settle on or near the regularly traveled traces and build a fort or a blockhouse.⁷² It was not safe for any one to live outside the forts from the first of June to the last of November. This was the season for the Indian raids.⁷³ However if they chose they might build their houses where they intended to locate and return each night to stay at the blockhouse.⁷⁴ There were three or four of these forts⁷⁵ in the country at that time. The first of these was located on the present site of Newburg. The Sprinkles, Hayes, Lynns, Alexanders, Darbys, Frames, Wests, and the Roberts—in all thirty-five persons—lived in this fort.⁷⁶ There was also another large fort on the present site of Selvin, Indiana. This fort was probably sufficiently large to accommodate a hundred soldiers besides the settlers living there.⁷⁷ Bailey Anderson's settlement at the mouth of Cypress creek has already been de-

⁷¹ There were two other traces in southwestern Indiana, traveled to a considerable extent at one time, which, however, were not used by the settlers of Warrick county. The first of these was called the Barren trace or the Highland trace. It crossed the Ohio river about seven miles below Shippingport, at Sullivan's ferry, passed Corydon, crossed the Blue River trace, ran through the northern part of Crawford and Perry counties, near Jasper and on to Vincennes. The second of these traces ran from Rome northward seventy-five miles to Vincennes. There was a ferry across the Ohio at Rome. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV., 261, 264.

⁷² Governor Harrison gave the following instruction to Colonel Hargrove, commander of the Rangers: "There are always some contrary people in all walks of life who are hard to manage. The ones that you reported are not all who have been troublesome. There is no deviation from the rules. Anyone who refuses to stay in the fort when ordered, arrest them and send them to this post under guard. When the government does all that it can to protect its people they must and shall obey the rules. Their territory is under no law that can force obedience but military and all of its subjects must obey the governing rule or be sent out of it." William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 207.

⁷³ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 503, 205.

⁷⁴ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 214.

⁷⁵ Governor Harrison gave Colonel Hargrove, commander of the Rangers, the following instruction as to the building of these forts: "In making the building be sure that it is strongly put together, made out of large logs and that a stockade ten feet high be built that will enclose one acre of ground. In this enclosure should be erected a number of buildings that will safely protect fifty people."

⁷⁶ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 503.

⁷⁷ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 218.

scribed.⁷⁸ There was one other settlement in the county the exact location of which is not known. When these new comers were first mentioned they were located on a large creek, some distance from the Ohio river, ten miles to the west of the Yellow Banks trace,⁷⁹ and not far from the trace running parallel to the Ohio river. This trace was about fifteen miles to the north of the river.⁸⁰ On account of danger from the Indians they were asked to move either near the Yellow Banks trace or the new trace.⁸¹ It is supposed that these settlers moved to one of these places, for Colonel Hargrove reported that he was successful in getting all the straggling settlements gathered near one of the traces.⁸² It is probable that these settlers located in the northeastern part of the county.

The Indians became especially active in 1807. In the early spring of that year a band of Delaware Indians captured a family named Larkins, near the present site of Otwell, Pike county. Mr. Larkins was killed and Mrs. Larkins and five children carried into captivity. In July of the same year, a half breed Delaware Indian, called "Swimming Otter", reported that there was likely to be an Indian raid within the next ten days in this section of the country. A band of about twelve Indians had planned to cross the Vincennes trace near the present boundary line between Pike and Dubois counties and to move southward toward the mouth of Green river.⁸³

⁷⁸ Cummings in his sketches of a *Tour to the Western Country*, 1807-09, mentioned this settlement: "Having passed two more islands, and some new farms, in nine miles and a half, we came to a string of six or seven good looking settlements, called Scuffletown, Kentucky, on the left; and two miles and a half on the right, we observed two new settlements, a small creek, and a bluff rock, serving as a base to an elevated conic promontory terminating a wide reach, and narrowing the river so by its projection, as to make it an eligible situation for a fortified post." Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV., 265.

⁷⁹ The following mention is made of this settlement in Colonel Hargrove's correspondence: "They all agreed in their statements that there are several other bands scattered over the territory some distance north of the Ohio river from ten to fifteen miles east of the Yellow Banks trace to something like the same distance to the west of the same trace. They claim that there is one band of these refugees west of the Yellow Banks trace about ten miles. They were camped near a large creek." William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 214.

⁸⁰ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 218.

⁸¹ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 214.

⁸² Governor Harrison wrote to Colonel Hargrove, commander of the Rangers, as follows: "The Governor wishes to assure you of his appreciation of your successful work in gathering so many of the unfortunate refugees at points near the Yellow Banks and other traces and the large colony which you have gathered on the new trace crossing the Yellow Banks road." William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 218.

⁸³ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 201-210.

Colonel Hargrove had time to make preparation to receive the raid and the Indians were thoroughly chastised.

A little later in the year (1807) the people began to fear another attack from the Indians. In October of that year, Maj. John Sprinkle informed the governor that detached bands of Indians had been passing for eight or ten days and appeared to be carrying their luggage with them. Some of these Indians made their camp not far from Bailey Anderson's cabin. The gathering of the Indians on the Ohio in the later fall was looked on with suspicion. Colonel William Hargrove, Bailey Anderson and two other men, were sent to visit the chief, whose name was Setteedown.⁸⁴ Chief Setteedown assured these men that the tribes were only paying a peaceful visit, that the reason for their coming was the abundance of game; and that they would go back to their country by the 26th of November. True to their word, the Kickapoos, the visiting Indians from Illinois, returned again to their homes without any trouble.⁸⁵

The Shawnee Indians continued to live in what is now Warrick county until 1811. This band of Indians was under the control of Chief Setteedown, who, for one of his race, was wealthy, having a large drove of horses and cattle. Their village, already referred to, was situated near the mouth of Cypress creek, on the north bank of the Ohio river. The west end of this town was near the Newcom coal mines and scattered over a considerable territory along and back from the river. It is said that at one time the village numbered about one hundred wigwams.⁸⁶ During the years from 1808 to 1811 these Indians were peaceable⁸⁷ with the white people who lived in that section.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Bailey Anderson was to act as interpreter. William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 220.

⁸⁵ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 222-228.

⁸⁶ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 9.

⁸⁷ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 502, 513.

⁸⁸ From 1808 to 1811, there was considerable trouble in Indiana Territory with the Indians along the frontier. Governor Harrison was able to secure a peace with some of the Indians in 1809, but Tecumseh and his followers were loud in their declarations against it and tried to prevent its being carried into effect. During this period the Indians made numerous raids along the frontier, crossing over into the white settlements in many places, killing the settlers or running off the stock. The times became so troublesome that many left the country. Warrick was considered to be a safe place even in time of war. Vincennes *Western Sun*, May 13, 1809; William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 340-363; Moses Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, 262.

Preceding the outbreak of the War of 1812, the Indians made numbers of raids along the border. The unsettled condition of the Indians probably had something to do with one of these murders committed in Warrick county, the details of which follow:

Probably as early as 1810, the Meeks family settled on Little Pigeon creek, in the northern part of Luce township, Spencer county. There Atha Meeks and his son William built log houses. In the cabin of the elder Meeks were his two grown daughters and his son, Atha, Jr. William Meeks, another one of his sons, who had a wife and one small child lived near by. It seems that by the spring of 1812 only a few straggling bands of Indians remained in the neighborhood.⁸⁹ Most of them had probably gone north under the direction of Tecumseh to prepare for a general raid along the frontier. However Chief Setteedown and his followers were still living in the county. What led the Indians to make an attack on the Meeks family can only be conjectured. It might have been, as some claim, that a family living near Darlington who had a grudge against the Meeks family, persuaded Setteedown that Meeks had been stealing his traps.⁹⁰ It was doubtless partly done at the instigation of Tecumseh, who had planned to make a concerted attack along the entire frontier,⁹¹ and in this manner so to divide the attention of the settlers as to prevent the militia from going to the protection of any other part of the State.⁹² So Setteedown's warriors before departing to the Wabash country to put on war paint and feathers, decided to massacre the nearest white settlers, toward whom they had a grudge. Thus early on the morning of April 14, 1812, an attack was made on the Meeks family. Some say that the murder was done by Setteedown, his son and an Indian called "Big Bones"⁹³ while others lay the deed to a band

⁸⁹ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 251.

⁹⁰ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 11.

⁹¹ The story of the stealing of the traps is discarded by General Lane. Joseph Lane, Rosebury, Oregon, in a letter to Col. W. M. Cockrum, June 21, 1878, said: "There was no cause, except treachery which all Indians were full of for the Shawnee Indians murdering Atha Meeks. He was a very harmless man. It was always believed by those in a position to know that the murder was done by a few discontented members of that band, aiming to remove all traces of that family." William Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 515.

⁹² Moses Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, 262.

⁹³ *History of Warrick Spencer and Perry Counties*, 251.

of Setteedown's warriors.⁹⁴ At least it is known that only three Indians participated directly in the murder.⁹⁵ The accounts agree on this fact.

While the Indians were on their way to the Meeks cabin to make the attack they met Atha Meeks, Jr., the strong, athletic son of senior Atha on his way to a nearby spring to get some water with which to prepare breakfast. Some say that he was fired at by two of the Indians and slightly wounded in the knee and wrist. Others make no mention of this. Nevertheless two of the Indians attacked him with tomahawks but he fought so desperately that he partly succeeded in warding off with his arms the blows aimed at his head. It is probable that the two Indians had already emptied their guns or they would have made quick work of him. In the meantime Atha, Sr., had been aroused by the noise and had appeared at the door where he was shot through the brain killing him instantly. The Indian rushed forward to scalp the dead man, but Mrs. Meeks succeeded in getting her husband's body in the house and barring the door before the Indian reached it. Tradition says that she received a severe wound in the ankle from a tomahawk, thrown by the Indian.⁹⁶ William Meeks was aroused by the report of the gun and came to the rescue of his mother. One of the Indians was fatally wounded. The two who were trying to kill Atha, Jr., escaped before William had time to reload his rifle.⁹⁷

William started at full speed to a settlement in the southern part of Luce township, Spencer county to spread the news of the murder. When the news reached that place a runner was sent to French island, on the Ohio river, for the help of a keel-boat crew under Sam Perkins. The crew of seventeen men volunteered to the man. These with a number of farmers made up the posse. One account has reached us that Ratliff Boon was put in command⁹⁸ while another gives this distinction to Captain Young.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 252.

⁹⁵ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 252.

⁹⁶ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 514.

⁹⁷ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 12.

⁹⁸ William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 514; Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 11.

⁹⁹ Moses Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, 262.

It was probably about noon before the party of men was ready to start. Although the Indians had six or eight hours the lead they were encumbered with their baggage and families. Traditional stories vary a great deal as to the outcome of this expedition. Some say that only Setteedown and his family were fleeing to the northward and that they were captured. Others say that Setteedown was accompanied by a band of warriors few of whom ever lived to cross the river.¹⁰⁰ Yet another account says that the posse went only to the Indian camp where they hid themselves to watch for the return of any of the Indians. At least the stories agreed that one Indian was taken captive. As to who this captive was, there is a difference of opinion. Some say that it was Chief Setteedown while others say that it was an Indian who had been hunting for two or three days and at nightfall came to the camp where he was taken.

The captive was placed in a log cabin, probably Uriah Lamar's house, near Grandview, where he was to await preliminary trial. While waiting for trial the Indian was killed. Whether he was shot by William Meek, while the guards were away to get a drink, or shot by Thomas Ewing or bled to death by Bailey Anderson stories vary. At least the Indian was killed.¹⁰¹ It is said that for months after the hasty retreat of the Indians, horses and cattle were found around Setteedowns' home. These were gathered up and thirty-five turned over to the widow of Atha Meeks.¹⁰²

There is no doubt, however, about the effect of this raid upon the people of Warrick county. A murder committed in a section of the State where the settlers felt in almost complete safety even in time of war, so alarmed the people that it was impossible to make the militia turn out to march to the assistance or protection of any other places. The alarm was so great that many families abandoned their homes flying they

¹⁰⁰ Joseph Lane, Rosebury, Oregon, in a letter to Col. W. M. Cockrum, June 21, 1878, said: "The Indians were encumbered with their women and children and could not make the speed well-mounted soldiers could, and it was generally believed that but few of them ever lived to cross White river. There was always an undertalk that Boon did a good deed and the country was well rid of the lazy vagrants." William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 514.

¹⁰¹ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 13.

¹⁰² William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 514.

knew not where,—many without means of support.¹⁰³ Those who remained in the county took refuge in such temporary forts as they had been able to construct. It was especially bad for the people to be confined to the forts because it was corn planting time.¹⁰⁴

After the first year of the war the people of Warrick county began to feel more secure¹⁰⁵ and many people from along the frontier settled in that section of the country.¹⁰⁶ The county was never again troubled with the warlike Indians, however, for many years afterwards peaceful ones occasionally returned to hunt in that region.¹⁰⁷

ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTY

The county was named in honor of Capt. Jacob Warrick, who fell in the Battle of Tippecanoe, November, 1811. Little is known of his life except that he was one of the heroes of Tippecanoe, where he distinguished himself for his bravery. Governor Harrison in reporting the battle said of Captain Warrick's death: "Warwick (Warrick) was shot through the body; being taken to the surgeon to be dressed, as soon as it was over, (being a man of great bodily vigor and still able to walk) he insisted upon going back to head his company, although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live."¹ Such was the bravery of the man from whom the county took its name.

In 1813, the territorial legislature of Indiana enacted a law authorizing the organization of two new counties to be called Warrick and Gibson.² At that time Warrick county included

¹⁰³ Moses Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, 263.

¹⁰⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I., 808.

¹⁰⁵ This fact is very well shown by a study of the table of the membership of the Methodist Church from 1810-15 hereafter.

¹⁰⁶ In July, 1812, the Rangers were sent out again. This gave the people greater security. William M. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 349.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph P. Elliott, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, 1897, 34.

¹ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I., 778.

² An act for the formation of two counties out of the county of Knox: Section 1. "Be it enacted by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the passage hereof all that part of Knox County which is included in the following boundaries shall form and constitute two new counties, that is to say: Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash; thence up the same with the meanders

all the territory which now comprises the counties of Posey, Vanderburg, Warrick, Spencer, Perry and a portion of Crawford. John Ocheltree, Abel Westfall, William Polk, Robert Elliott and William Prince, all from Knox county, were appointed commissioners to locate the county seat.³ The commissioners were to meet at the mill of Jonathan Anthony on Pigeon creek and there decide upon the location. At the time appointed for their meeting a majority, for some reason, failed to appear and in their places were substituted William

thereof to the mouth of White River; thence up White River with the meanders thereof to the forks of White River; thence up the east fork of White River, to where the line between Sections No. 20 and 29, in Township No. 1 north, of Range No. 4 west, strikes the same; thence with said line to the line of Harrison County; thence with the said line dividing the counties of Knox and Harrison to the Ohio River; thence down the Ohio River to the beginning.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, that the trace of country included within the aforesaid boundaries be, and the same is hereby divided into two separate and distinct counties by a line beginning on the Wabash River and known and designated by the name of Rector's base line, and with said line east until it intersects the line of Harrison County, and that from and after the first day of April, one thousand, eight hundred and thirteen, the trace of country falling within the southern division thereof, shall be known and designated by the name and style of the County of Warrick. And the northern division thereof shall be known and designated by the name and style of the County of Gibson.

James Dill,

Speaker of the House of Representatives,

James Beggs,

President of the Legislative Council.

Approved, March 9, 1813: John Gibson." *Laws of Indiana, 1813*, 67.

³ "Be it enacted by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives, and it is hereby enacted by the authorities of the same, that John Ocheltree, Abel Westfall, William Polk, Robert Elliott and William Prince, all of Knox County, be and they are hereby appointed commissioners for the purpose of fixing the seat of justice in the counties of Gibson and Warrick, whose duty it shall be to convene at the house of John McJunkin, in Gibson County on the first Monday in February next, and proceed to fix the seat of justice in the county of Gibson in conformity with and in respects agreeably to an act passed at the last session of the Legislature, entitled "An Act fixing the seat of justice in all new counties hereafter laid off."

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That the aforesaid Commissioners shall immediately after they may have fixed the seat of justice in Gibson County, repair to Warrick County to the mill of Jonathan Anthony, and proceed to fix the seat of justice in the same, in the same manner as is provided in the first section of this act for fixing the seat in Gibson County.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, That the Sheriff of Knox County be and he is hereby required to serve the aforesaid Commissioners with a notice of their said appointments on or before the 20th day of January next, for which service he shall be allowed such compensation as the courts of Common Pleas in the counties of Gibson and Warrick may deem reasonable to be allowed and discharged in the same manner that other county claims are; Provided, however, that if any of the said commissioners should be disqualified to act as Commissioner by the said act for fixing the seats of justice, etc., the said courts of Common Pleas in the said counties of Gibson and Warrick, or either of them, shall have power to appoint others to supply such vacancy.

Prince, Daniel Putnam, Alexander Diven, John Milburn and William Hargrove.⁴ Evansville was selected for the capital of the county. Hugh McGary, who owned the lower part of what later became the city of Evansville, laid out a number of lots and donated some of these to the county on condition that the commissioners should locate the courthouse at that place.⁵ The deed to this land was made to Nathaniel Claypool, county agent, and dated July 15, 1814. It is probable that Colonel McGary's gift of a hundred acres of land had considerable influence in the selection of Evansville as the county seat.⁶ This was the first capital of Warrick county.

Within three months after Evansville was made the capital of Warrick, an act was passed by the territorial legislature creating out of that county the counties of Posey (with nearly its present limits) on the west and Perry on the east. Thus Warrick was limited approximately to the territory now included in Vanderburg, Warrick and Spencer counties. This left the site of Evansville in the southwestern corner of Warrick, with the result that the territorial legislature moved the county seat from Evansville to a site at the mouth of

⁴ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 37.

⁵ Joseph P. Elliott, *A History of Evansville and Vanderburg County, Indiana*, 60.

⁶ *Indiana Magazine of History*, March, 1914, 5; *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 37; Joseph P. Elliott, *A History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, 60. The commisisoner had reported on June 13 before this, and June 20, Nathaniel Claypool, county agent, was directed to lay out the town of Evansville.

⁷ The act of the legislature changing the seat of justice for Warrick county was passed in September, 1814, and was as follows:

Whereas, It has been satisfactorily proven to this legislature, that Evansville, the seat of justice for the county of Warrick, is precisely in the corner of that tract of country which must hereafter form said Warrick County after the proper and necessary divisions shall take effect.

1. Be it therefore enacted by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the seat of justice of Warrick county shall be and the same is hereby established and fixed on fractional section number 7, in township number 7 south, on range number 8 west, of the second principal meridian, it being the place at first selected by the commissioners appointed to fix the seat of justice in said county, by an act of the Legislature passed at the last session: Provided, however, That Nathaniel Ewing shall convey to the county of Warrick and for the sole use of said county three hundred acres of land out of the above named fractional section at the price of two dollars per acre, and off the east end of the said fractional section.

2. Be it further enacted, That the court of the said Warrick county authorized to do county business, shall cause the said three hundred acres of land described as aforesaid, to be laid out into town lots, and sold agreeably to the

Little Pigeon creek, later called Darlington. This location was about four miles above Newburg on a tract of land owned by Nathaniel Ewing, which had been donated to the county for that purpose.⁹ The county seat was retained on the Ohio on account of its importance as a commercial route.

At first the sessions of the courts were held in private houses in various parts of the county. At the first meeting of the county board, Lawrence Younce was given the contract on October 31, 1814, to build a county jail for the sum of \$593. The specifications for this building were as follows: "The jail is to be eighteen feet square from outside to outside, to be built with a double wall of well-hewn timber twelve inches square, and to be raised in that manner so as to bring the joints of the outside wall, leaving a space between the two walls six inches to be filled up with rock and gravel. The first story to be seven feet high and the second to be eight. The lower floor to be made with square timber laid double, said timber to be twelve inches square, and done in a workman-like manner. The upper floor to be laid with timber of the same quality as the lower, but one layer of logs completely put to-

provisions of an act entitled "an act for fixing the seats of justice in all new counties hereafter to be laid off," and shall cause the public buildings of said county to be erected thereon, in such places of as is most suitable and will best promote the interest of said county.

3. Be it further enacted, That any person or persons, who has or have purchased any lot or lots in the town of Evansville of the agent of the said county of Warrick, may at his or their election either retain possession of such lots or convey such lots to the said county of Warrick, and have the purchase money refunded if paid or their bonds cancelled or given up to them, if such purchase-money be not paid by applying to the said court of Warrick county and it shall be the duty of said court on receiving sufficient titles, and upon application made as aforesaid to cause the same to be refunded and given up accordingly.

4. Be it further enacted, That the agent of said Warrick county shall on the second day of March next, or as soon thereafter as convenient, reconvey to Hugh McGary, the tract of land at Evansville, which was conveyed to the said Warrick county, except so much thereof as may be retained by individuals who purchased lots of the agent for the said county as aforesaid, and the said court of Warrick county, if any such lots are retained, shall cause the amount of purchase-money thereof when collected, to be paid to the said Hugh McGary.

5. Be it further enacted, That the circuit and other courts hereafter to be held for the said Warrick county shall be held at the house of Daniel Rhodes in said county, until a court house shall be erected on the said three hundred acres of land sufficient for the accommodation of the courts, at which time said court shall adjourn to the court house. This act to take effect from and after its passage.

⁹ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 15.

¹⁰ *Historical Atlas of Warrick County*, 10.

gether, with a floor of planks two inches thick well spiked down in the logs of the floor, the garret floor to be of logs of nine inch timber, and ceiled with plank one and one-half inches thick and spiked accordingly. The upper story to be divided into two rooms with a partition of timber ten inches thick, well and completely confined in the wall of the said house. The roof to be of shingles of good quality. The rafters, sheathing and weatherboarding to be of good quality. In the lower to be windows nine inches square with double grates of iron bars one inch and a quarter square, put in the wall and well confined, so that the bars of the inside grates shall face the lights of the outside grates. The upper story to have one window eighteen inches square, made in the same manner as the windows in the lower story. Two doors of common size to be of planks three inches thick made double, so that each door shall be six inches thick and well put together in the manner that jail doors ought to be done, hung with large hinges extending across the door, and clasped on the opposite side and riveted, with caps of iron on the head of each rivet. In the second floor of the upper story there is to be a trap door to open on said floor, and confined in a strong manner, as the door in the wall, each door to have a bar of iron confined with a staple at one end, to extend across each door and locked in a staple in the wall of the jail with a good padlock. It is considered that all the timber out of which the said jail is to be built, is to be of good quality."¹⁰ This building was completed May 8, 1815 and received by the county board on August 15.

The next business of the county board was to provide for a county courthouse. The plans for this building were as follows: "Twenty by twenty feet square, of well hewn logs not less than one foot, to be one story and a half high, the upper story to be six feet high. Three windows, large enough to receive eighteen lights of sash, two floors, one staircase, bar, jury box and judge's bench, two doors, shingle roof and one partition above with a door through the same, two windows above of the same size as the windows below, completing the same with locks, bolts and hinges, all in workman-like manner on or before the first day of March, 1816."¹¹ Daniel Deckrow

¹⁰ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 39.

contracted to construct this building for \$290, Ratliff Boon and Adam Young being his securities. The building was completed long before this time and the board received it on December 4, 1815.¹²

On December 21, 1816, an act was passed (to go into effect February 1, 1817) by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, creating Pike county out of Gibson, Knox and Perry counties. By this act the northern boundary of Warrick county was moved farther north enlarging the limits of the county,¹³ however the northern boundary was yet south of the present boundary. These boundaries were not retained long and the organization of Vanderburg and Spencer counties out of Warrick, February 1, 1818, left the latter county with almost its present boundaries.¹⁴

After Spencer and Vanderburg counties had been formed, the county seat was again left far from the center of the county. The legislature was asked to appoint a commission

¹² *Historical Atlas of Warrick County*, 1880, 10.

¹³ Pike county was formed out of Knox, Gibson and Perry counties with the following boundaries: "Beginning at a point on White River where the line dividing sections nine and ten in range nine, town one north of Buckingham's base line strikes the same, thence south with said line to the township line dividing townships three and four south, thence east with said township line until it strikes the range dividing ranges two and three west, thence north with said range until it strikes the line dividing the counties of Orange and Gibson, thence with said line until it strikes the line dividing the counties of Orange and Gibson, thence with said line until it strikes Lick Creek, thence down said creek to White River, thence down said river with the meanders thereof to the place of beginning." *Laws of Indiana*, 1816, 208.

¹⁴ Vanderburg county was formed out of Warrick, Gibson and Posey with the following boundaries: "Beginning on the Ohio river where the range line dividing ranges eleven and twelve west, strikes the same, thence north with the said range line to the center of township four, south of Buckingham's base line, thence east through the center of township four, south, to the range line dividing ranges nine and ten west, thence south with said range line dividing township five and six south, thence east to the first section line in the range nine, thence south with said section line to the Ohio river, with the meanders thereof, to the place of beginning."

Spencer county was formed out of Warrick and Perry counties with the following boundaries: "Beginning on the Ohio river where the section line passes through the center of the seventh range strikes the same; thence north with the said section line until it strikes Little Pigeon creek; thence up said creek with the meanders thereof, to the township line passing between townships four and five; thence east with said township line to the range line dividing ranges five and six; thence north to the line of Pike county, thence east with the line dividing the counties of Perry and Pike to the range line dividing ranges three and four, thence south with said range line until it first strikes Anderson River, thence down said river with the meanders thereof, to the Ohio River, thence down the same to the place of beginning." *Special Acts of 1817*, 22.

to select a more suitable location. On January 1, 1818, John Tipton, Zachariah Lindley, James B. Slaughter, Roland B. Richards, and Davis Edwards were appointed commissioners to relocate the capital of Warrick county.¹⁵ On March 19, 1818, this commission presented a report as follows:

We, the undersigned commissioners, appointed by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana for the purpose of fixing the seat of justice for the county of Warrick, do report that we have obtained, by donation, 175 acres of land from the following persons and out of the following tracts of land, to-wit: Sixty acres of land from John Barker, of the west end of the southwest quarter of section 26, in township 5 south, of range 8 west; sixty acres of land from William Berry, of the east end of the southwest quarter of section 26, in township 5 south, range 8 west; thirty acres of land from Richard Stephens, part of the northwest quarter of section 26, township 5 south, of range 8 west, to be laid off in the southwest corner of said quarter-section, immediately north of and adjoining the donation of William Berry, to be sixty poles east and west and to run north to include the said quantity of

¹⁵ Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

(Note. Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 relate to the formation of Vanderburg county).

9. John Tipton, of Harrison county, Zachariah Lindley of Orange county, James B. Slaughter, of Harrison county, Roland B. Richards, of Gibson county, and David Edwards, of Posey county, be, and they are hereby appointed commissioners to fix the seat of justice of Warrick county, agreeably to an act entitled "an act for fixing the seat of justice in all new counties hereafter to be laid off", whose duty shall be to meet at the house of John Hargrave in the said county on the third Monday of March next and proceed to fix and establish the permanent seat of justice for the said county of Warrick, and so soon as the said county seat is established as aforesaid, the town of Darlington be, and the same is hereby declared no longer to be the seat of justice of the said county of Warrick, and the same is hereby removed from Darlington to the place so established.

10. Be it further enacted, That so soon as the seat of justice is fixed as aforesaid within the said county of Warrick, it shall be the duty of the board of county commissioners to proceed to erect the necessary public buildings thereon, and when the said buildings are, in the opinion of the Circuit Court, sufficient for their accommodation, the said court shall be adjourned thereto, after which all courts for said county shall be held at said seat of justice.

11. All persons who have purchased any lot or lots at the town of Darlington shall be permitted to reconvey the same to the commissioners of Warrick county for the use of the said county, whose duty it shall be to receive said conveyances and refund to the person or persons so conveying the original purchase money with interest thereon to be paid out of the funds of the said county of Warrick; Provided, also, That it shall be the duty of the commissioners as aforesaid to pay over unto Nathaniel Ewing the balance yet due on the original purchase of the tract of land whereon the said town of Darlington is situated and receive a conveyance from the said Nathaniel Ewing, and dispose of the same at public auction for the benefit of the said county of Warrick, either for ready money or on such credit as the circuit court of said county may direct. All acts and parts of acts coming within the purview of this act, be, and they are hereby repealed.

thirty acres, and twenty-five acres of land of William Barker, fifteen of which lie in the northeast quarter and ten in the northwest quarter of section 35, in township 5 south, of range 8 west, adjoining to and immediately south of the donation of John Barker, Sr., on which above described tracts of land we have agreed to fix the permanent seat of justice for the county of Warrick, but it is to be understood that William Berry, Sr., is to have one lot, to-wit: The second choice of lots laid off on his donation.¹⁶

This commission was signed by John Tipton, Zachariah Lindley, David Edwards and James B. Slaughter. This was the beginning of the town of Boonville.

Again the matter of public buildings came before the county authorities. At first the courts were held in a log courthouse, built on the public square, but this soon became too small for the transaction of the necessary county business. Then the county commissioners ordered a new brick building thirty-five feet square to be erected, which, however, was never built. A frame building was later agreed upon instead.

A ditch two feet deep and two feet wide was filled with smoothly hewn logs to a level with the surface of the earth, on which was built a stone wall eighteen inches in height. This constituted the foundation and on it was built the frame proper. However, this building was never completed. It was weather-boarded and roofed, but was neither lathed nor plastered, and thus remained until 1836. While it was capable of holding more people than the log cabin it could hardly be used even during the summer months.¹⁷

A jail had to be provided for and in October, 1818, the county agent let the contract to John Upham with the following specifications:

The jail is to be eighteen feet square, from outside to outside, to be built with a double wall of well-hewn timber twelve inches square, and to be raised in that manner so as to bring the joints of the outside wall opposite the face of the logs of the inside wall, leaving a space between the two walls of six inches, to be filled up with rock and gravel. The first story is to be seven feet high, and the second eight, etc.¹⁸

This building was on the northeast corner of the square, but after some time it became too small and a new brick building was built on Sycamore between Third and Fourth streets.

¹⁶ *Historical Atlas of Warrick County*, 10.

¹⁷ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 23.

¹⁸ Will Fortune, *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, 23.

At the end of our period, 1818, Warrick county had become fairly well established along the lines that she was to make her future development. Within her limits were already formed four townships—Anderson, Boon, Skelton and Campbell—with 300 voters and a total population of 1,500. The first mail route had already been established in 1817, better roads were being built and the county was gradually being brought into closer touch with the outside world. Although Warrick for the next two decades was probably not to enjoy the rapid progress granted her neighbors, she had played an important role in the early annals of southwestern Indiana and was again to assume an important place among the leading counties of southern Indiana.

The Populist Party in Indiana

ERNEST D. STEWART, A. M., Dupont, Ind.

ORIGIN OF POPULISM

The sudden origin and rapid growth of the People's party was a most striking political phenomenon of the period from 1890 to 1896. Beyond a doubt it was the most important third party in the history of American politics up to that time. In 1892 and 1894 the party attained a strength which practically gave it the balance of power. For this reason politicians regarded it with respect and secretly courted it, though publicly as a matter of political policy they affected to hold it in derision. Many of the People's party's demands have since been enacted into law. This fact more than any other testifies to the sincerity and significance of the movement.

The chief cause of the sudden appearance of the People's or Populist party in 1890 and 1891, was the economic conditions of the time. From 1873 to 1893, roughly speaking, the country was in the throes of an industrial crisis.¹ It was a period marked by falling prices and consequent wide-spread discontent, particularly among the agricultural and laboring classes. These classes constituted to a large extent the debtor element upon whom the burden caused by the declining prices fell most heavily. It is obvious that a debt contracted by a producer when prices are high will have practically increased in amount if paid off when prices are low. A \$1,000 debt contracted in \$1.10 wheat is equal to \$1,290 when paid in 85c wheat, provided the cost of producing the wheat remains the same. The average price of wheat during the five years ending in 1883 was \$1.11 a bushel; the average price in the next five years was 81c. In 1885 it was lower in the United States than it had been in forty years. During the decade from 1881 to 1891 there was a general drop in the prices of corn, cotton,

¹ To be distinguished from a monetary crisis. F. W. Taussig, *Principles of Economics*, 400 seq.

wool, and live stock estimated at 40 per cent. Between 1884 and 1888 there was an increase of 7 per cent in the number of animals received at the Chicago stock market over the number of animals received in the years from 1880 to 1884; yet the decrease in value was 10% although there had been an increase in population of 22% in the same period.¹ The price of steers in the Chicago stock market in 1884 was \$6.02 a hundred. In the next five years the price steadily went down until in 1889 it reached \$3.95. In the same length of time wheat showed a consistent decline from 95c to 88c, corn 60c to 43c and oats from 36c to 28c. In the Indianapolis market about 1880 wheat was selling around \$1.25. In 1891 it fluctuated between 80c and 90c. In 1890 the prices of wheat and corn due to a short crop were better than for several years, but on the other hand there were times, during the darkest days of 1893 and 1894, when 40c wheat was not uncommon. Under such conditions it was small wonder that thousands became restless and wished for a change.

Naturally the classes affected were not at a loss in fixing to their own satisfaction the cause of their distress. They felt that the main reason for the prevailing low prices was the scarcity of money. According to the quantitative theory of money, the precious metals are commodities just as meat or cotton or corn, and are governed by the same law of supply and demand. Increase the amount of the commodity and it becomes cheaper, that is, cheaper in comparison with other commodities. Since the value of these goods is measured in terms of money, prices rise. On the other hand, let the amount of money in circulation be curtailed, the supply lessened, and money becomes dearer, that is, a given amount of any commodity will not exchange for as much money as before and the prices fall. Holding to this quantitative theory, thinking people saw in the insufficient supply of money the one great cause of the hard times. It was generally believed that lack of money was the deliberate act of self-seeking men who had cornered the money market in order to enhance the value of the precious metals for their own profit. The act of 1873

¹ These facts and figures are taken from W. A. Pepper, *The Farmer's Side*, 21 *seq.*

demonetizing silver¹ by which the normal increase in the money supply was prevented, was dubbed the "crime of '73" and pointed to as clear evidence of this deep-laid plot. Herein lies the necessary relation between the economic phase of the matter and the political. The remedy for the bad state of affairs into which the country had fallen was to be found in the restoration of silver to an equality with gold through free coinage and the issuance of paper money direct from the government.

Many persons also found fault with the way in which the government issued money to the people. By the constitution, "Congress shall have the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof". It was charged that although the government coined the money it turned it over to individuals and corporations to trade in. Both old parties, it was said, had deserted the wise doctrine of finance that money should be issued by the people themselves through their agent, the government. Instead they had turned over the business of issuing money and controlling its volume to a few persons who used their power in their own interest. This was the essence of the farmers' quarrel with the national banks.¹ The farmer objected to the banks because they appeared to him a money monopoly fostered by the government. He would have them abolished as banks of issue and the money issued directly by the government. The whole national banking system was unjust and an unnecessary tax on the people. For one thing, the banks received double interest,—interest on their bank notes when loaned to the people, and interest on the bonds securing their circulation.

Upon the question of interest a great many thinking people held well defined convictions. Interest was looked upon as a destroyer. It was pointed out that money loaned for a number of years at compound interest amounted to more than the profits of ordinary industry in the same length of time. That is, interest charges accumulate faster than the savings of labor. The reason, of course, was that interest rates were

¹ A full discussion of this act presenting both sides of the question is beyond the scope of this paper.

¹ Another grievance lay in the fact that by the law of 1864 establishing the national banks they were not permitted to issue loans on land.

too high. The obvious remedy, therefore, was a decrease in the legal rate. The profits arising through the lending of money, it was contended, should not exceed the profits arising through the expenditure of labor. For instance, if a net profit of 2 per cent is the maximum yielded by farming, that industry cannot afford to pay a higher rate of interest than 2 per cent.¹ Again, it was pointed out that the price of any commodity other than money is constantly changing, unaffected by any arbitrary law. The question then was asked, why are interest rates alone fixed always making necessary the payment by the borrower of the top price?

One great cause of existing evils in society then, it was felt, was the power of money, a power which could be neutralized by increasing the supply of money, taking from it its interest-bearing function to the extent of bringing its value as a profit-bearing investment to the same level with land and labor. The annual net profit on labor and labor's productions was about 3 per cent. Interest on money should be no higher than that.

Besides the financial errors there were other evils pointed out as the cause of the people's distress. It was believed that the operations of speculators were responsible to a certain extent for the low prices of farm products. A bill to prevent such alleged speculation, known as the Butterworth Bill, was introduced into congress, but never enacted into law. Not only food speculators but land speculators also were an anathema in the eyes of the farmers. In fact the prevention of speculation in land was the main object of the Farmers' Alliance organized in Texas in 1875. Alien ownership was especially frowned upon. Another grievance in this connection was the great land monopoly built up by the railroads throughout the south and west by governmental grants.

Since the discontented elements believed that reform was needed because the functions of government had been taken wanted to see those functions brought more under public control. They believed in greater power for the people, especially in the regulation of these industries partaking of the nature of natural monopolies. From this attitude arose their

¹ W. A. Pfeffer, *The Farmer's Side*, 77.

demand for the government regulation and even taking over of the telegraph, telephone, and railroad companies. In regard to the railroads, it was felt that the only way for the people to avoid the high rates charged by the railroads due to their over-capitalization was to own and operate them themselves. To the same attitude may also be traced the advocacy in the latter history of the radical movement of the Initiative and Referendum.

Add to the above mentioned factors the beliefs held by many persons that the two old parties had been insincere in professing friendship for free coinage and poor people in general; that the rich were largely exempt from their share of taxation; that the administration of the government was corrupt and extravagant; and one may form an idea of the elements going to make up the People's party.

The demands of the Populists, particularly in the early stages of the movement, may be summarized under the three heads of land, transportation, and money.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The way had been prepared for the People's party by various social and quasi-political organizations among the farmers and laborers dating back as far as 1867. This remarkable activity among the two great laboring classes was a distinguishing characteristic of the two decades and a half beginning with 1870. It was what sociologists would call the awakening of class consciousness. The farmers suddenly realized that they had common aims and purposes, and that through organization they possessed a great amount of power. This feeling found expression in the formation of various Granges, Farmers' Alliances, Industrial Unions, Benefit Associations, Agricultural Wheels, etc., in most of the States of the Union. Such associations did not always justify the hopes of their founders and in most cases their political influence was negligible. Yet one or two of them came to exercise a decided influence on the course of events. Originally their aims were of two kinds, social and educational, though many of them were perverted from the original purposes.

The Patrons of Husbandry, known also as the Grange, was the earliest of these associations. Organized in 1867 at Washington, D. C., it was a secret organization, women were admitted on an equality with men, and it was begun primarily for social purposes. Its scope broadened, however, until many of its demands were enacted into law and were the key to the independent parties of the time. It attacked the growing power of the railroads; with their over-capitalization, and exorbitant rates, and its ideas succeeded so well that it has been called "the mother of the Granger legislation." The two principles of this legislation are that transportation belongs to the people, and that congress has the power to regulate it.¹

Next in point of importance, perhaps, was the Farmers' Alliance, organized in Texas in 1875 to prevent the monopolizing of new lands by speculators. It also had a social aim. After absorbing the Farmers' Union of Louisiana, and the Agricultural Wheel of Arkansas it finally became split into two parts, The "Southern" Alliance, and what became known as the "Northern" or National Farmers' Alliance. The latter originated in Illinois in 1877. Unlike the southern wing it was not secret and was more inclined to participate in politics. "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none" was its motto. The official title of the "Southern" Alliance was The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union.¹

Another agricultural organization strong in Indiana and Illinois particularly was the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, commonly known as the "F. M. B. A.". Its objects were the same as the other bodies mentioned. It was a secret order and admitted only men. Besides these main bodies there were various minor and local "Alliances", "Unions", and "Wheels" in almost every State.

According to S. J. Buck, an authority on the Granger movement, the origin of the Peoples party is to be found in the St. Louis platform adopted by the "Southern" Alliance and Knights of Labor in 1889.² This famous platform, the basis of the later Populist demands, deserves detailed treat-

¹ The creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887 was the direct result of its efforts. W. A. Peffer, *The Farmer's Side*, 150.

² F. M. Drew in *Political Science Quarterly* for 1891, p. 233.

ment. It is given here with the changes made the next year at the annual meeting of the Alliance at Ocala, Florida:

1. We demand the abolition of national banks. (Also we demand) that the government shall establish sub-treasuries or depositories in the several States (to take their place). The sub-treasuries shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest not to exceed two per cent per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate, with proper limitations upon the quality of land and amount of money. We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

2. We demand that congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; preserving a stringent system of procedure in trials as shall secure the prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

3. We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver. We condemn the silver bill recently passed by congress.

4. We demand the passage of laws prohibiting the alien ownership of land, and that congress take early steps to devise some plan to obtain all land now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroad and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them, be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

5. Believing in the doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," we demand that taxation, national or state, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all revenues, national, State or county, shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

6. We demand the most rigid, honest and just State and national control of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuse now existing, we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

At the same time that the St. Louis platform was being constructed, the "Northern" Alliance adopted a similar one. It is given here also since it, along with the St. Louis platform proper, served as a model for the leaders in the political campaign of 1890.

Whereas, the farmers of the United States are most in number of any order of citizens, and with the other productive classes have freely given

² S. J. Buck, *Granger Movement*, 309.

of the blood to found and maintain the nation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the public land, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers only, and that measures be taken to prevent aliens from acquiring titles to lands in the United States and territories, and that the law be rigidly enforced against all railroad corporations which have not complied with the terms of their contract, by which they have received large grants of land.

2. We demand the abolition of the national banking system and that the government issue full legal tender money direct to the people in sufficient volume for the requirements of business.

3. We favor the payment of the public debt as rapidly as possible, and we earnestly protest against maintaining any bonds in existence as the basis for the issue of money.

4. We favor a graded income tax, and we also favor a tax on real estate mortgages.

5. We demand economy and retrenchment as far as is consistent with the interests of the people in every department of the government, and we will look with special disfavor upon any increase of the official salaries of our representatives or government employees.

6. We favor such a revision and reduction of the tariff that the taxes may rest as lightly as possible upon productive labor and that its burdens may be upon the luxuries and in a manner that will prevent the accumulation of a United States treasury surplus.

7. The stability of our government depends upon the moral, manual and intellectual training of the young, and we believe in so amending our public school system that the education of our children may inculcate the essential dignity necessary to be a practical help to them in after life.

8. Our railroads should be owned and managed by the government, and be run in the interest of the people upon an actual cash basis.

9. That the government take steps to secure the payment of the debt of the Union and Central Pacific railroads and their branches by foreclosure and sale, and any attempt to extend the time again from the payment of the same beyond its present limit will meet with our most emphatic condemnation.

10. We are in favor of the early completion of a ship canal connecting the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico, and a deep water harbor on the southern coast in view of opening trade relations with the Central and South American states, and we are in favor of national aid to a judicious system of experiments to determine the practicability of irrigation.

11. We sympathize with the just demands of labor of every grade and recognize that many of the evils from which the farming community suffers oppress universal labor, and that therefore producers should unite in a demand for the reform of unjust systems and the repeal of laws that bear unequally upon the people.

12. We favor the Australian system, or some similar system of voting, and ask the enactment of laws regulating the nomination of candidates for public office.

13. We are in favor of the diversification of our productive resources.

14. We (will) favor and assist to office such candidates only as are thoroughly identified with our principles and we will insist on such legislation as shall make them effective.

In January, 1891, at a session of the national order in Omaha, further demands were made as follows: the election of President, Vice-President and the United States Senators by popular vote, restriction of the liquor traffic, woman's suffrage, liberal pensions, passage of the Conger land bill, free and unlimited coinage of silver and the increase of the currency to \$50 per capita. The convention pledged itself to demand "that the government allow us to borrow money from the United States at the same rate of interest as do banks". It was resolved not to affiliate with either the Republican or the Democratic party and a declaration was made in favor of nominating a national ticket in 1892.

Thus by 1890 the forces of discontent had acquired considerable headway. Through the efforts of the Farmer's Alliance, assisted by the labor element, a set of principles had been drawn up in a combination new to the political history of the country. The way was cleared for a new party. There remained the task of harmonizing the discordant elements and welding them into one organization. We shall see how this was accomplished in the years 1890 and 1891.

THE WORK OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE F. M. B. A.

Though 1890 was an "off" year in politics it saw the launching and partial success of the new party in several of the western and southern States. In the western States a number of wet years had caused the farmers to increase the kind and area of cultivation to such an extent that when normal dry weather returned there were many failures and bankruptcies.¹ Especially was this true in Kansas. This fact largely accounts for the more acute development of the People's party movement in Kansas and the west generally than in Indiana.² The latter State, besides being a more eastern and hence a

¹ C. R. Fish, *Development of American Nationality*, 475.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 15; Oct. 26, 1890.

more conservative State, had more uniform and normal crop conditions.

However, a campaign took place characterized by great activity among the members of the various farmers' organizations during the summer and fall. Barbecues, picnics, and rallies galore were held throughout the State, and some excitement prevailed. Speakers such as L. L. Polk, national president of the Farmers' Alliance, and J. H. Allen, of Terre Haute, a local worker, addressed large audiences. In many of the meetings laborers and farmers participated on common ground.¹ There was a great deal of talk of uniting the Knights of Labor and the Alliance, at least to the extent of identical platforms.² Steps were taken toward establishing a radical press. On November 23, a meeting was held at Newcastle to consider the establishment of an official organ for the Alliance. Three thousand subscribers were pledged then and there.³ In many counties the farmers' organization, sometimes acting together, sometimes separately, placed independent tickets in the field. June 7 the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association and The Knights of Labor held a joint convention at Washington, Daviess county, and nominated a full county ticket. The candidates were about equally divided between Democrats and Republicans.⁴ At Fort Wayne on September 11 the Farmers' Alliance and various labor organizations decided to put forth an independent county ticket. The Democrats were said to be making efforts to prevent this action.⁵ In Wells county the F. M. B. A., acting alone, passed resolutions favoring the nomination of a county ticket. At Vincennes it was decided not to put an independent ticket in the field.⁶ These political moves are typical of what was going on in a great or less degree all over the State.

The economic phase of the situation is illustrated by the action taken in several localities against merchants and middlemen in general. One reads of a secret meeting of the farm-

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 2, 1890.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 26, 1890.

³ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 24, 1890.

⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 8, 1890.

⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 12, 1890.

⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 10, 1890.

ers held at Martinsville, December 11, for the purpose of organizing a store "run according to their own dictation".¹ The Farmers' Alliance of Vigo county and the people of Terre Haute decided to boycott a Chicago firm selling dressed meat in order to preserve the home market for home producers.² At Tipton, the Alliance took action toward the owning of an elevator. Rumor had it that an Alliance store was to be started by the first of January.³ Many of these projects of course never materialized, but they show the attitude of mind of the agriculturalists and their ideas of the proper remedies for the amelioration of their condition.

The attitude of the two old parties toward the doings of the farmers is significant. The Republicans probably were safer against the effects of the new ferment than the Democrats. The Alliance was strong in the Democratic counties of the State and in such localities was encouraged by the Republican leaders.⁴ The Democratic party, posing as the more progressive party and the especial friend of the farmer, found itself in somewhat of a dilemma as to just what attitude to take. It compromised by maintaining that all the good things in the farmers' demands were already the cardinal principles of the Democratic party, while the points which were not found in the Democratic platform were impractical and visionary. Throughout the period of the People's party the Indianapolis *Journal*, the Republican organ, held to a policy of serene contempt toward the fledgling. The *Sentinel*, the Democratic organ, was more gracious.

Official action looking toward greater solidarity was taken on June 19 on the occasion of the meeting of the Farmers' Convention at Indianapolis.

THE FARMERS' CONVENTION ON JUNE 19, 1890

On June 19, 1890, there met in Indianapolis representatives from the Farmers' Alliance, the F. M. B. A., the Grange, and the other farmers' organizations of the State.

¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, Dec. 15, 1890.

² Indianapolis *Journal*, Dec. 15, 1890.

³ Indianapolis *Journal*, Dec. 9, 1890.

⁴ Indianapolis *Journal*, May 5, 1890.

The meeting was called for the ostensible purpose of founding a State league in the interests of agriculturists. It met in the lecture room of the State Board of Agriculture. The call for the meeting was sent out by J. B. Kingsbury, editor of the *Indiana Farmer*.

Though the aim of the gathering was ostensibly the formation of a State league, the political phase of the situation was paramount. However, the body assumed an equivocal and uncertain attitude on the question of taking independent political action. The general sentiment seemed to be that if political action were taken at all it should be only local. As long as possible the farmers were to work within the old parties, endeavoring to secure the nomination of men who would carry out their ideas. But as one of the resolutions declared:

When the old parties fail to nominate men suitable to the farmers, we deem it our duty, and pledge ourselves to nominate such independently, and will strive by all honorable means to secure their election.

On the other hand we have the words of one of the leaders:

It is not our purpose to tear down, but to promote our own interest. We therefore let politics alone just so far as we are able. The farmers' interests are local, as a rule, and do not interfere with the general principles of the parties. We are a unit on wanting State and county taxes cut in two, but tariff questions do not bother us. We believe with our parties on that subject.¹

(At no time in the history of the People's party did the question of the tariff ever figure prominently.)

A number of resolutions were concurred in by the assembly strongly suggestive of the later pure Populist platforms. Class legislation, monopolies and trusts were denounced. The direct election of United States senators was favored and an unsuccessful attempt was made to amend the resolution by including the President and Vice-President. Another resolution called for the reduction of fees and salaries. In regard to the money question a free coinage bill which was being discussed in the Senate was enthusiastically endorsed. It was demanded also that the legal rate of interest be proportionate to the rate earned by capital when invested in agriculture and other pro-

¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 20, 1890.

ductive industries. The passage of the Butterworth bill¹ was favored. Also the exemption of debtors from taxation to the amount of their bona-fide indebtedness was called for. In regard to local matters the convention concurred in resolutions to the effect that school funds should be appropriated according to the enumeration of pupils, that public printing should be let to the lowest bidder and that the political parties place men on their tickets in sympathy with the farmers' interests, the farmers to give them their support regardless of past political ties. When suitable men are not put on the tickets the farmers to take independent action.

In addition the following resolutions were reported by the resolutions committee but recommended to be laid on the table:

That all county and township offices be let to the lowest bidder; that no farmer vote for one who had been a candidate in the old parties; that women stand on the same legal footing with men as executors and in property interests; that county commissioners be restricted in their powers of constructing public buildings by a vote of the people; and that the government should lend its credit to farmers on land at two per cent.

This latter resolution provoked discussion in which it was finally decided that such a provision would be impracticable since "land sharks would buy up all the rocky and swamp land and palm it off on the government by fraud".¹

The liquor question came up when a member of the resolutions committee introduced a plank expressing the views of the Prohibitionists. The Prohibitionist party at this time was third in importance among the parties of the State. Many feared that the introduction of such a resolution would have the effect of identifying the farmers' movement with the Prohibitionists and thus lead to its downfall. After a lively discussion a harmless compromise resolution was adopted and the affair closed.

¹ This bill was aimed against speculation in farm products. It proposed to make illegal all sales for future deliveries except in the case of the farmer who was to be allowed to sell his ungrown crop.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, June 20, 1890.

THE FIRST STATE CONVENTION

The work of the Farmers' convention represented political activity but it was activity within the old parties. The first definite action taken in Indiana toward the fusion of the various radical elements into an independent political organization was when representatives from the Greenbackers, the Union Labor Party, the Farmers' Alliance, the Grangers, the F. M. B. A., and other bodies met in the Criminal courtroom at Indianapolis, on September 23, 1890, for the express purpose of founding a third party.² It may be considered Indiana's first State Convention of the People's party.¹ The gathering was respectable, consisting of about one hundred delegates representing all the congressional districts in the State except the First and Third. It was estimated that probably one-third of the counties of the State were represented. John C. Maugherman of South Bend was elected temporary chairman and J. Y. Demaree temporary secretary. Later all officers were made permanent.²

In starting the organization of the party one of the first cares was in regard to a State central committee. This body was elected and consisted of one member from each congressional district with J. H. Allen of Vigo county as chairman.³

The platform, presented by M. C. Rankin of Terre Haute, chairman of the committee on resolutions, dealt mostly with State issues. The State debt was deplored and greater economy and lower taxes urged. A just and equitable redistricting of the State was demanded and it was urged that a check be placed on the power of county commissioners to heap debt on the corporations under their control. A non-partisan, competent, and permanent management of the State charitable and penal institutions was demanded and disapproval expressed of the existing contract labor law. Furthermore, in the payment of wages to laborers by employers, no property

² *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 23, 1890.

¹ The Republican State convention of 1890 was held on June 10, the Democratic on August 28.

² *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 23, 1890.

³ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 23, 1890.

was to be exempt. Child labor was vigorously condemned. The assembly declared against the voting of taxes on the people of counties, townships and municipalities for the purpose of raising money to be handed over to corporations for the building of railroads.¹ In regard to the reward of the old soldiers, a subject dealt with freely by both the old parties, the convention declared for per diem service pensions, for the Union ex-prisoner of war pension bill and for the payment of pensions from the date of disability instead of from the date of application.²

The only utterance in the platform on the money question was in connection with the demands concerning pensions. The plank ran as follows:

We favor the issuing of a full legal-tender paper money to meet the disbursements under these bills (pension bills), thereby enabling the government to maintain its honor and pay its debts, and at the same time aid the people by giving them a sufficient volume of money to meet the demand of the legitimate trade interests of the country. Our government paid the soldiers in paper money during the war and the veterans will gladly accept it in payment of their just demands.

Among the lesser resolutions was one recommending that the inspector of mines be a practical miner. Another, that the State furnish school books at cost to the townships, these in turn to distribute them free to the pupils.

The Farmers' Convention held on June 19, 1890, was endorsed.

In the course of its proceedings the convention was addressed by Capt. Thomas Wadsworth of Daviess county, and Moses Hull, of Chicago, one of the original Greenbackers of the country.¹

Following is the ticket nominated by the convention:

Secretary of State, Leroy Templeton, of Benton county; Auditor of State, James M. Johnson, of Daviess county; Treasurer of State, Isalah N. Miller, of Grant county; Attorney-General, William Patterson ("Green-

¹ This refers to the practice of raising a lump sum by taxation and handing it over practically as a free gift to railroads, factories, etc., in the course of construction by the localities directly benefited by these enterprises. The farmers seem to have objected to this practice only in connection with railroads.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 24, 1890.

back Billy"), of Indianapolis; Clerk of Supreme Court, Benjamin F. Street, of Gibson county; Superintendent of Public Instruction, William Whitney of Delaware countw (a member of the Knights of Labor); State Geologist, Edward S. Pope, of Indianapolis; Chief Statistician, John W. Shockley, of Henry county.

No nomination was made for the office of judge of the Supreme court, as no suitable man could be found who resided in the judicial district. Later a nominee was found in the person of John S. Bender.² Another change was made in the ticket by the substitution of the name of Martin V. Kindle for that of Leroy Templeton. After his nomination on the State ticket, Templeton was named for congress by the Democrats and Independents of the Ninth district and withdrew his name in order to make the congressional race.³ It was said that all of the candidates on the ticket were farmers.¹

The political organization which thus entered the field was christened "The People's Party."² The plow and hammer were adopted as the party emblem.

It was charged by the Indianapolis *Journal*, the Republican organ, that Democratic politicians were present in the convention who made strenuous efforts to get their candidates endorsed.³ There is no doubt but that from the start the members of the convention were afraid their organization would be dominated by the Democrats.

The Indianapolis *Sentinel*, the Democratic organ, on the other hand, had this to say:

The whole affair was manipulated by Republican managers. Those who participated are being used only to pull the monopoly chestnuts out of the fire.⁴

¹ Indianapolis News, Sept. 23, 1890.

² Appleton's *Annual Encyclopedia* for 1890, p. 440.

³ Indianapolis News, Sept. 30, 1890. In the ensuing campaign Templeton received 19,494 votes to his successful opponent's 20,752, losing by only 1,258 votes. Report of Secretary of State, *Documentary Journal*, 1890, Part I.

⁴ Indianapolis News, Sept. 23, 1890.

² Some of the names proposed before the final one was adopted were "The Farmers' and Laborers' National Party", "The People's Industrial Party", and "The Independent Union Party."

³ Indianapolis *Journal*, Sept. 24, 1890.

⁴ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 24, 1890.

Although only a comparatively short time intervened between the time of their convention and the date of the election, the farmers made a vigorous campaign. The results of the election showed that they had developed unexpected, though still insignificant strength. Martin V. Kindle, the candidate for Secretary of State, polled 17,354 votes and the vote for the other candidates on the ticket ran approximately at that figure. The Prohibitionists, the only other minor party in the field, polled barely twelve thousand.¹

AFTER THE CAMPAIGN

Thus the Populist State campaign of 1890 closed. An indication of what reform measures would be expected of the next legislature is given by the resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the State Farmers' Alliance on November 20. On that date the following resolutions were adopted: That State and county officers be paid salaries in proportion to the business transacted and in accordance with salaries paid for similar services in ordinary business; that debtors be allowed exemption from bona-fide indebtedness; that free gravel roads be placed under the control of district supervisors; that teachers take and report to the trustee the enumeration of their respective districts; that the law giving the county commissioners the power to hold special elections for voting aid to railroads and corporations be repealed; that no one living in an incorporated town be eligible to the office of township trustee.²

On the following day, November 21, a set of resolutions, more general in their scope and more outspoken, was adopted. These resolutions declared in favor of bimetallism and free silver, the abolition of national banks, and the issuance of greenbacks, limited government control of transportation and communication, and the abolition of gambling in food products. They also demanded the revision of the tax laws, and just pensions. The Australian secret ballot,¹ and the

¹ From Report of the Secretary of State, *Documentary Journal*, 1890, Part I.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 21, 1890.

¹ The secret ballot was first put into operation in Indiana in 1890.

graded income tax were endorsed. The liquor traffic was denounced.

Further work of the convention included the adoption of what was known as the North Carolina business-agency plan by which the members were to purchase their agricultural machinery and other supplies through a State agent. The *Alliance Advocate* published in Indianapolis by J. C. Kingsbury, was made the official organ of the organization.²

How closely allied were the demands of the various farmers' organizations is shown by the manifesto issued at a meeting of the F. M. B. A. at Peru, December 17. It asserted that fees in county offices were exorbitant, that the legal rate of interest was too high, and that foreign corporations were drawing vast incomes from the State without taxation. It demanded that assessors list property at its true cash value; that official fees be reduced 10 per cent; that taxes from toll roads, railroads and pipe lines be divided among the various school districts; that a law be enacted permitting debtors to deduct their bona-fide indebtedness from their assessments; that mortgages not reported to the assessor become null and void in the county where recorded; and that county officials hold office for four years only and be ineligible for re-election.¹

Thus the year 1890 saw the attempt of the farmers of the State to unite for independent political action, without destroying at the same time the different farmers' organizations. The next four years were to see the gradual growth of the new party until it reached its zenith as an independent force in politics.

THE YEAR OF ORGANIZATION

The chief characteristic of the year 1891, so far as the People's party was concerned, was the development and perfecting of the party organization.

The picnics, barbecues, and speech-making of the previous

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 22, 1890.

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 18, 1890.

year continued.¹ The F. M. B. A. and the Alliance in their meetings throughout the State continued their denunciation of alleged evils in the State and local governments. On January 16 the representatives of the F. M. B. A. held a meeting at Decatur and demanded reform in the Democratic management of the county.² In the *Indianapolis Journal* of January 28, 1891, one learns that at Crawfordsville lodge No. 310 of the Alliance adopted resolutions in regard to fees, salaries, mortgages and terms of office. The question of mortgaged lands was particularly prominent. The demand was reiterated that the mortgagee be exempt from taxation to the amount of his mortgage. The lodge also declared in favor of the principle that notes not listed for taxation be non-collectible.³ At Saline City, near Brazil, the local F. M. B. A. passed resolutions condemning the liquor traffic. The meeting was secret and other business was not made public, but it was believed that they would place a county and State ticket in the field in the next campaign.⁴ At Peru in December there was a discussion over the starting of a new Alliance paper. It was said that a paper was to be started at Portland the following week.⁵

In other localities where the members of various farmers' lodges felt that the integrity of their organization was at stake, political action was deplored. For instance at Charleston, Clark county, the F. M. B. A. strongly denounced the politics in the organization.⁶ At a meeting at the Hotel English in Indianapolis, February 2, 1891, with delegates present from Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Illinois Alliances it was brought out that the members had no wish to form a third party. Their organizations, they said, were not political.⁷

Two external forces came in at this time to influence the growth of the People's party, the one adversely, the other

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 24, 28; Sept. 28, 1891.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 17, 1891.

³ *Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 28, 1891.

⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 15, 1891.

⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 12, 1891.

⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 17, 1891.

⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, Feb. 5, 1891.

favorably. These two forces were the crop conditions of 1891 and the action of the Democratic legislature.

The year 1891 was one of unusual agricultural productivity. The corn crop of the State was 125,092,649 bushels, an increase of 43% over the yield of the previous year, and the largest crop with the exception of that of 1888 in a decade. The yield of wheat was 58,305,796 bushels, more than double the amount raised in 1890, and the largest crop since 1881. The production of hay, barley, rye, and oats was normal. The potato crop also was a large one, the largest since 1885.¹ This prosperity naturally checked the reforming zeal of the radicals, though not to any great extent.

The tax law of 1891 passed by a Democratic legislature, revised and reconstructed the existing methods of taxation in such a way as greatly to increase the burdens of the taxpayer.² From the point of view of the agriculturists, a weakness of the law was said to consist in the fact that the farmer had to pay a tax upon value represented while the money lender got credit for his indebtedness. In other words, the farmers were taxed upon what they owed while the other classes were not.¹ This increase of their taxes undoubtedly strengthened many in the People's party doctrine. It was said by many and hoped by the Republicans that the farmers would be greatly strengthened in their opposition to the Democrats because of the latter's passage of this law doubling assessments instead of a reform fee and salary bill, a particular pet of the Populists.²

AMALGAMATION AND ORGANIZATION

Up to this time the action of the People's party had been a matter of State and local concern. The first step toward the fusion of the various elements into a national organiza-

¹ These figures are taken from the *Forty-first Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture* for 1890, pp. 279-293.

² The main features of this law were four: (1) A tax of 6c on each \$100 worth of property for the Benevolent Institution Fund in addition to the 12c tax rate. (2) A thorough revision and reconstruction of the law regulating assessment and collection of taxes. (3) The creation of a permanent Board of State Tax Commissioners. (4) Special provision for the taxation of express, Pullman, telegraph and telephone companies. *Appleton's Annual Encyclopaedia*, 1891, p. 379.

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 30, 1892.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, July 29, 1891.

tion was the National Union Conference held at Cincinnati, May 19, 1891.³ Kansas, Indiana and Ohio naturally sent

³ This National Union Conference, as it was called, was a gathering of all the politico-reform forces of the country for the purpose of founding a third party. The germ of the meeting was the agitation carried on by the Kansas delegates at the Ocala conference of the Farmers' Alliance Dec. 4, 1890, for a meeting at Cincinnati early in the year 1891 of all the alliances and industrial unions in the country who stood by the St. Louis platform to consider a third party movement. It was recommended at that time that the name of the party be called the "National Union Party of America" (*Indianapolis Journal*, Dec. 5, 1890). At the Cincinnati meeting in the delegation from Kansas seven different organizations were represented. They were: The Farmers' Alliance, The Citizens' Alliance, The People's party, The Knights of Labor, The National Industrial Alliance, The Anti-Monopoly party, The Single-Tax Men (*Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 19, 1891). There were almost 1500 delegates present representing thirty-two states in the Union and two territories (W. A. Pfeffer, *The Farmer's Side*, p. 160). However, the apathy of the South was noticeable and their delegates were few.

Senator W. A. Pfeffer, of Kansas, was chosen permanent chairman of the convention, and Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, chairman of the committee on resolutions. Other prominent personalities in the convention were, T. V. Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor; General J. B. Weaver, a veteran Greenbacker and the party's destined candidate for president; "Sockless" Jerry Simpson, of Kansas; George W. Washburn, President of the New England Industrial Alliance; Mason Greene, of Boston, the personal representative of Edward Bellamy and his theories; Captain C. A. Powers, of Terre Haute, and Miss Helen M. Gougar, also of Indiana.

The work of the convention fell mainly under two heads, the selection of a national committee and the drafting of a set of resolutions. H. E. Taubeneck, of Illinois, was elected chairman of the national executive committee, which consisted of three members, from each state. (*Indianapolis Journal*, May 31, 1891.)

In a platform dealing with numerous and varied subjects, the chief planks were the following: (1) "Crystallization of the political reform forces of the country into the 'People's party of the United States of America.'" (2) Endorsement of the platforms adopted at St. Louis in 1889; at Ocala, Florida, in 1890; and at Omaha, Nebraska, in 1891. The demands set forth in the above mentioned platforms were then summarized: (a) The abolition of national banks as banks of issue, and the issuance by the government of legal tender treasury notes to take the place of bank notes, the treasury notes to be loaned at not more than 2% on farm products according to the sub-treasury plan. (b) Free and unlimited coinage of silver. (c) No alien ownership of land. (d) Just and equal taxation. (e) Economical administration of governmental revenues. (f) Imposition of a graduated income tax. (g) Government control of transportation and communication, in case of control proving ineffectual, complete ownership. (h) The election by direct vote of the people of the President, Vice-President, and United States senators.

In addition to the above a number of resolutions, not a part of the platform, were presented: That universal suffrage be recommended to the consideration of the States and Territories; that justice be done to ex-soldiers who were paid off in depreciated currency at the end of the war, by the issuance of legal tender treasury notes sufficient to make the pay of old soldiers on a par with coin; that the principle of the eight-hour day apply to all corporations employing labor.

In this way, by the naming of a national executive committee and the adoption of a set of resolutions, the People's party was launched into the sea of national politics.

the largest delegations to this convention, Kansas leading with 409. Indiana came second with 154 delegates. While Kansas undoubtedly dominated the convention, Indiana's influence was far from negligible. In the election of Mort C. Rankin, of Terre Haute, who had long been identified with the farmers' movement, as treasurer of the national executive committee, Indiana was represented in a responsible position. The three national committeemen from Indiana were C. A. Powers, of Terre Haute; Leroy Templeton, of Boswell, and J. D. Comstock.¹

Organization of the party more than what already existed was effected within the State at a meeting held July 30, in Indianapolis. About 150 members of the party attended, representing forty-seven counties and twelve out of the thirteen congressional districts.² The call was issued by J. H. Allen, of Terre Haute, chairman of the State central committee, organized at the State convention held the previous year. T. W. Force, of Shoals, president of the State Alliance, presided. The plan of organization contemplated a general sub-State committee composed of three men from each county, a State executive committee to be selected by this larger State committee and a State central committee of three men from each congressional district. It will be noticed that this is a triple organization throughout compared with the usual plan. The duties of the members of the sub-State committee were to look after the interests of the party in their respective localities. Leroy Templeton, of Benton county, was elected chairman of the State central committee, Dr. H. W. Taylor, of Anderson, secretary, and Joshua Strange, of Arcana, Grant county, treasurer.¹

Before the conference adjourned arrangements were made for the removal of the *American Nonconformist*, a People's party paper, edited by L. Vincent, from Winfield, Kansas, to Indianapolis. This was on condition that 5,000 paid subscribers be guaranteed. The *Nonconformist*, thus introduced into Indiana, became later the most important Populist organ of the State.

¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, May 21, 1891.

² Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 31, 1891.

In November a further step was taken toward harmonizing the various farmer elements into a third party on the occasion of the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Farmers' Alliance at Indianapolis. Animated by a common antipathy to Cleveland, delegates were present from all parts of the country. Although the convention thus partook of a national, not a State character, the fact that Indianapolis was chosen as a city in a favorable section possesses some significance. Eight industrial organizations were represented. The sounding of the Alliance as to its attitude toward the formation of a third party was the real purpose of the meeting.¹

The events which took place on November 16 to 20 were varied and complicated. Besides the Alliance council, including the F. M. B. A., the Grange, and other farmers' organizations, two other bodies, whose deliberations were interwoven with those of the Alliance, met at the same time. These two bodies were the executive committee of the People's party and the executive committee of what was known as the Confederated Industrial Union. This latter organization had its origin at the Ocala meeting when the Alliance invited farmer and labor organizations to send delegates to a conference at Washington, D. C. At this Washington conference an executive committee consisting of five members from each of six organizations was appointed which met November 19 in Indianapolis three days after the first coming together of the Supreme Council. Its functions were to decide on the place of meeting and the apportionment of delegates to a national convention for the nomination of President and Vice-President to be held on February 22, 1892.²

The executive committee of the People's party was on hand throughout the deliberations of the council working in the interests of the third party movement. Throughout the deliberations the case of a third party was a strong one. Most

¹ At the present writing (1917) Mr. Strange resides at Marion. He is connected officially with Farmers' National Congress, U. S. A.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 16, 1891.

² The plans in regard to this meeting were afterwards changed. Because of the decision to hold the nominating convention later in the year the committee meeting in February decided merely on the general plan of representation. *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 20, 1891.

of the delegates shared the view that only by the formation of a third party could the objects of the Alliance be achieved. It had tried to get the old parties to take up its ideas and failed. Independent political action was the next logical step. Practically all of the opposition to a third party came from the Southern delegates. In their view the dissolution of the Alliance in case it entered the political field was inevitable.¹

It was freely alleged, in view of the busy and excited meetings at the Hotel English, that the executive committee of the People's party was scheming to swallow both the F. M. B. A. and the Alliance.² In the deliberations of the Alliance proper, the attitude toward a third party was shown by the fact that when Jerry Simpson, of Kansas—"Sockless" Jerry, one of the best informed leaders in the movement—introduced a resolution instructing Alliance congressmen to keep out of party caucuses at Washington during the winter, the motion was carried with enthusiasm. The Alliance Congressmen at this time numbered fourteen—thirteen representatives and one senator.³

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to give a detailed account of the proceedings of the various committees, councils, and other organizations. It will be sufficient to give merely the results of the convention.

In the first place the definite inauguration of a third party backed by various farmers' organizations was made an assured fact. No doubt existed anywhere that a ticket would not be gotten out before June, 1892, with Leonidas L. Polk, of North Carolina, national president of the Alliance, heading it.² The candidates of the next year were to enter the field with the pledged support of the Farmers' Alliance, the Industrial Union, and the F. M. B. A. In the second place, the work of the Indianapolis convention brought about a split between the anti-sub-treasury wing and the main body of the Alliance, resulting in the issuance of a call by the bolters for a new Alliance to be organized at Memphis, Tennessee, in December. The sub-treasury wing amalgamated with the Peo-

¹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 16, 1891.

² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 18, 1891.

³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 20, 1890.

² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 21, 1891.

ple's party, thus committing that party to the land loan and farmers' credit plan.³ Furthermore, the meeting brought about practical amalgamation between the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union and the F. M. B. A., the two most powerful agrarian organizations.¹ The latter order toward the close of the conference revised its constitution before adjourning. Among other changes the sub-treasury plank in its platform was modified so as to have the same purport as a similar plank in the Ocala platform. The general sentiment seemed to be against fusion with the third party until after the February meeting.²

THE HIGH-WATER MARK OF POPULISM—THE YEAR 1892

With definiteness and a background given to a national People's party by the three great conventions, viz.: The Confederated Industrial Conference at St. Louis in 1889; the National Union Conference at Cincinnati in May, 1891, and the Supreme Council of the Alliance at Indianapolis in November, 1891, the members of the party in Indiana began the campaign of 1892 with confidence and enthusiasm. The State-wide activity of the "Populists," as they had now come to be called, was of much the same nature as in 1890 and 1891. However, there were the additional factors of greater solidarity of organization and of the excitement of a presidential year. The chronic Prohibition ailment was still giving trouble. In most of the counties there was no hope of the two parties coming together. In a few instances, however, fusion occurred, as at Marion, where it was reported that the respective leaders of the People's and Prohibition parties agreed to unite their forces in the county campaign.¹ At Vincennes in April a mass convention was held by members of the People's party for the nomination of a city ticket. It was said that a majority of the convention had been Democrats.² At a mass convention held at Newcastle, May 21, for the nomination of

³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 21, 1891.

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 22, 1891.

² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 21, 1891.

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 28, 1892.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, April 5, 1892.

county officers, a full ticket was put out, consisting of nominees from the Democratic and Prohibitionist parties and the Alliance.³ In Jasper county a county ticket was nominated consisting mostly, it was said, of Democrats.

The State convention of the People's party met on May 27 at Masonic Hall, Indianapolis.⁴ At this time the party had organizations in two-thirds of the counties. Seventy-two counties of the State had representatives in the convention. Samuel W. Williams, of Knox county, "Telephone Sam," so named because of his being the author of a telephone law passed by the legislature of 1885,—was elected temporary chairman, and W. W. Prigg,¹ of Henry county, was made secretary.

The preamble of the platform read as follows:

In view of the great social, industrial and economic revolution now dawning on the civilized world and the new and living issues confronting the American people, and recognizing that in all ages and in all civilizations the great middle class has been the bulwark of civil liberty . . . the People's party believes the time has arrived for a crystallization of the reform forces of our State. Therefore, we invite all persons who are desirous of bettering their condition to join with us in eradicating the evils which are now so rapidly destroying the body politic.

On the subject of finance the platform continued:

We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable and efficient means of distributing it direct to the people at a tax not to exceed two per cent. to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or some better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

In the advocacy of the sub-treasury plan is seen the influence of the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Farmers' Alliance at Indianapolis the previous November. Although

³ According to the *Indianapolis Journal*, four of these candidates were Democrats, three were Prohibitionists and three Alliance men. *Indianapolis Journal*, May 22, 1892.

⁴ At the same time there was a meeting of the judicial and executive boards of the Farmers' Alliance, no doubt for the purpose of coming to some understanding with the third party. *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 27, 1892.

¹ Resides at present (1917) at St. Mary's, Ohio.

formulated at the Ocala convention in 1890, the plan did not figure in the farmers' demands in their two State conventions in 1890.

The sub-treasury plan was one of the most striking and ill-fated of the farmers' demands. It is said to have been originated by C. A. Macune, the editor of the *National Economist*.¹ Broadly speaking, it is an extension of the familiar principle of borrowing money on warehouse receipts. The plan provided for the storing of grain in local government warehouses, the produce to be used as security for the loaning of paper money by the government to the farmers at a low rate of interest. One or two per cent. was the usual rate advocated. The money was to be loaned up to 80 per cent. of the market value of the grain.

The purpose of the plan as set forth by its advocates was to provide a safe, certain, and efficient method of giving a flexibility to the volume of money which would exactly equal the flexibility or variations in demand. That is, it was hoped that the plan if put into operation would secure a uniformity of price on the basis of the high prices prevailing during the summer months. The theory was that as the products of the farm were put on the market, instead of money being absorbed from other channels to move them, the marketings of the crops would be met by an issue of money from the government. In this way the supply of money would always exactly equal the demand, stringencies in the money market would be avoided and prices would be kept uniform.¹

A bill embodying the features outlined above was introduced in 1892 in congress. In the report of the committee of Ways and Means a number of arguments were brought forward in opposition to the scheme. It was pointed out that if the market value of the grain after storing fell below eighty per cent. of its original value the government would lose. The number of federal officers would be greatly increased, it was said, and the jurisdiction of the federal courts augmented to the oppression of the people. Also, it was urged, the plan would encourage speculation. Thousands of dollars worth of wheat could be carried at a low rate of interest with a com-

¹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 23, 1891.

² *Appleton's Annual Encyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 300.

paratively small amount of cash. Finally, it was a violation of the constitution in that it was class legislation: persons with wheat could get money from the government at a low rate of interest and loan it to others at a higher rate.²

In the opinion of many the sub-treasury plan was unsound. In the form in which the idea first took shape no doubt this is true. Yet it aimed to remedy a real weakness in our rural credits system—a weakness recognized and remedied twenty-five years later by the Farm Loan and Credits Act of 1916.

Another plank in the platform demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver and denounced the efforts of President Harrison in calling an international monetary conference to assist the United States in fixing a value for silver. In addition, the increase of the circulating medium to \$50 per capita, a graduated income tax, and postal savings banks were demanded.

In regard to the subject of transportation and communication, government ownership and operation of railroads, the telegraph, and the telephone were advocated. At that time considered among the wildest dreams of the Populists, these demands are now largely favored by public opinion.

With reference to land the platform declared:

The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes; alien ownership of land should be prohibited; all land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

Among the State demands, equal representation of political parties on election boards, just redistricting of the State, valuation of property for taxation according to net receipts derived therefrom, popular election of county superintendents, abolition of the office of county assessor, listing of property for taxation at a fair cash value and exemption of property holders from bona-fide indebtedness, were demanded.

Besides the planks in the platform proper the following

² *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 6, 1892.

demands were set forth in a number of resolutions: the initiative and referendum, woman's suffrage and the reduction of intemperance by a proper distribution of wealth.¹ With better economic justice, reasoned the Populists, there would be better morals.

A minority report was also brought forward by the committee on resolutions which agreed with the majority report on everything but the subject of intemperance. The minority report unequivocally demanded the abolition of the liquor traffic. The suggested plank was rejected and the majority report adopted by a vote of 574 to 164.²

It will be observed that the platform of this convention was silent in regard to the tariff and the trusts. The former never at any time occupied more than a subordinate place in the People's party program; the latter, particularly in the later history of the party, became a leading issue. According to the Indianapolis *Sentinel* the declarations of the platform were "socialistic."³

The convention also nominated a full State ticket headed by Leroy Templeton, of Boswell, Benton county, a wealthy farmer and stock-raiser. Templeton, it will be remembered, had been nominated by the party in 1890 for secretary of State, but after having been nominated for congress by the Democrats and Independents of the Ninth district he had withdrawn his name.

The following is the remainder of the ticket:

Lieutenant-Governor, J. A. Houser, of Marlon county, physician; Secretary of State, Jesse L. Hobson, of Wabash county, farmer; Auditor of State, Louis C. Kasten, of Allen county, mechanic; Treasurer of State, Townsend Cope, of Jennings county, farmer; Attorney-General, D. H. Fernandes, of Madison county; Superintendent of Public Instruction, J. H. Allen, of Vigo county; State Statistician, C. H. Bliss, of Howard county, editor of a Populist paper; Reporter of the Supreme Court, W. H. Dewey, of Washington county, mechanic.

These were the more important nominations. Besides

¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, May 28, 1892.

² Indianapolis *Journal*, May 28, 1892.

³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, May 28, 1892.

these, names were also placed in nomination for Supreme and Appellate Judges.²

The work of the convention included also the selection of a new State central committee, consisting of one member from each congressional district. This, it will be noted, was an abandonment of the arrangement inaugurated in 1890 whereby there were three members from each district. Joshua Strange, of Arcana, Grant county, was made chairman of the new committee, with G. C. Stahl, of Delaware county, as secretary, and L. M. Johnson, of Ripley county, treasurer.

It was in the course of the ensuing campaign that the members of the People's party began to be called "Populists." As usual in such cases, the term at first applied in derision came to be adopted by the members themselves until the name "Populist party" became official. Since the birth of the party in 1890 it had been consistently called the People's party. The word "Populist" so far as the writer has been able to learn, was unknown up until the summer of 1892. At first the term took the form of "Populite." This, however, whether by the rules of euphony, or for some other reason, never caught the popular fancy and "Populist" came to be the accepted word.

The State campaign was naturally over-shadowed by the national campaign. In this, as in national politics, free silver was coming to be more and more the dominant issue. Both old parties made strenuous efforts to keep the struggle confined to the old rallying cry of the tariff. Hence in regard to the money question they adopted straddling and evasive platforms.¹ The Republicans, entrenched in the sound-money East, were sincerely and strongly opposed to the free silver "populistic" doctrines of the South and West. Among the Democrats, defection to the new ideas was increasing. Cleveland, by his letter in 1892 on free coinage of silver alienated a great many Democrats and disappointed more.² Events were shaping themselves toward Bryanism and the political jumble of 1896.

The platform put out by the Populist national convention at Omaha on July 2 was mainly along the lines of the na-

² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 28, 1892.

¹ J. A. Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems*, 161, 162.

² J. S. Bassett, *Short History of the United States*, 750.

tional demands formulated by the Indiana State convention in May.³

Some idea of the state of the country as seen by the Populists may be gained from the preamble of the national platform:

The conditions which surround us justify our co-operation. We meet in the midst of a Nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislatures, congress and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. . . . The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few. . . . From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed two great classes—tramps and millionaires.¹

*The following is an outline of the platform as adopted by the National Convention:

I. Money.

(1) Issuance of a national flexible currency direct to the people as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance.

(2) Free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

(3) Increase of the circulating medium to \$50 per capita.

(4) A graduated income tax.

(5) Economical State and national administrations.

(6) Postal savings banks.

II. Transportation and Communication.

(1) Government ownership and operation of railroads and government operation of the telephone and telegraph in the interest of the people.

III. Land.

(1) No alien ownership or speculative monopoly of land. Reclamation by the government of all land owned by the railroads in excess of their actual needs.

A number of resolutions were also adopted in addition to the platform proper.

(1) That there should be a free ballot and a fair count through the adoption of the Australian ballot.

(2) That the revenue from an income tax should be applied to relieve domestic taxation.

(3) That the contract labor and immigration laws should be repealed.

(4) That the universal eight-hour day should be put into effect.

(5) That the initiative and referendum should be established.

(6) That the President and Vice-President should be elected for one term only, and the senators by direct vote.

The convention nominated for President, James B. Weaver, of Iowa, an old radical, and the presidential candidate of the Greenbackers in 1880; for Vice-President, James G. Field, of Virginia.

¹ The literary craftsman of this famous preamble was Ignatius Donnelly.

The preamble continued in the same melancholy vein, reciting the issue of gold-bearing bonds, the demonetization of silver, and the efforts of the two old parties to confine the issues of the campaign to the tariff, as evidence of gross injustice being perpetrated upon the people.

The choice of the convention, could it have had its way, was the honored jurist, Walter Q. Gresham,¹ whose presidential boom was cut short only by his own declination. Lionized by the convention from the start, he was the most available man the People's party had and the one most likely to harmonize the different factions. Colonel L. L. Polk, of North Carolina, the national president of the Farmers' Alliance, had recently died. With both Gresham and Polk eliminated the mantle fell upon General James B. Weaver, a veteran Greenbacker, who was ultimately the nominee of the convention.

Members of the Indiana delegation figured most prominently in connection with the efforts put forth to induce Judge Gresham to accept the nomination. In the early part of the proceedings, a caucus was held, consisting of the delegations from Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa to take steps toward procuring the Judge's consent. A delegation consisting of A. J. Streeter, of Illinois; Judge Orr, of Colorado, and Leroy Templeton, an intimate friend of Gresham, was finally dispatched to Chicago.¹ For a time it seemed that partial success had attended their efforts when H. E. Taubeneck, of Illinois, chairman of the national committee, nearly stampeded the convention to Gresham the next day by reading a telegram from J. A. Houser signifying Gresham's conditional acceptance of the nomination.² Later information from Gresham himself laid at rest, once and for all, the hopes of his supporters, and the Indiana delegation, after having been passed by once in the roll call, broke for Weaver.³

¹ Judge Gresham, a native of Indiana, born near Corydon, had been a major general in the Civil War. After the war he settled down as a lawyer, and rose rapidly in his profession until he secured the appointment as judge in one of the federal circuit courts. It was said he was converted to the doctrines of the People's party by reading Ignatius Donnelly's political novel, *Caesar's Column*.

² *Indianapolis Journal*, July 4, 1892.

³ Houser, it will be remembered, was the candidate of the People's party in Indiana for lieutenant governor. He was a newspaper writer and the reputed author of the work, *Is Marriage a Failure?* *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 5, 1892.

⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 5, 1892.

The Indiana members of the national committee, which consisted of three members from each State, were M. C. Rankin, of Terre Haute; C. A. Robinson, of Greenfield, and Fraser Thomas.

The campaign in Indiana was carried on in much the same way as in 1890. Rallies, barbecues, and picnics were the order of the day. The opening shot in the campaign was fired on July 20, at a monster rally at Vincennes when General J. B. Weaver spoke to an immense audience. Another speaker was Mort C. Rankin, of Terre Haute.

After the election, November 8, it was found that Leroy Templeton, the head of the ticket, had received 22,000 votes, about 4 per cent. of the total vote cast, and an increase of 10,600 over the vote cast in 1890.¹

THE YEAR 1894

After the more or less exciting presidential campaign of 1892, the political pot became calm again. Consequently 1893 brought few new developments in the People's party. The new party had made greater inroads into the Democratic than into the Republican camp in the elections of 1892, but while the large Democratic majorities in the South were safe against such losses, the narrower Republican margins in the North were in many cases wiped out. An unexpected Democratic victory was the result, perhaps not altogether due to the Populists. At any rate the free silver idea was gaining ground and populist doctrines were becoming more respectable. The financial panic of 1893, whether or not brought on by the disasters of the Cleveland administration, intensified the economic distress of the time. Low prices continued. These and other conditions of the time continued to provide the Populists with ample ground upon which to base their grievances. Instead of abating, the waves of discontent were rising higher and higher.

In Indiana at this time harmony prevailed within the party. In January, 1894, at the call of Joshua Strange, chairman of the State central committee, there was a love feast of

¹ Report of the Secretary of State, *Documentary Journal*, 1892, Part I.

about thirty-five Populists at the Hotel English, Indianapolis. It was rumored that C. A. Robinson, president of the Indiana F. M. B. A., would object to the old plank in the platform favoring government ownership of railroads. This was denied by both Robinson and Strange.¹ At this meeting Strange gave it out as his opinion that the coming fight would be between the People's party and the Republicans.²

The convention for nominating a State ticket and drawing up a platform was held in Indianapolis on May 24. There was supposed to be one delegate from each township going to make up the roster, but actually only three or four hundred were present. It was understood that the candidates were to be distributed evenly throughout the State.¹

The platform contained the following planks:

The platform adopted by the Omaha nominating convention in 1892 was endorsed. It was demanded that the circulating medium be increased to \$50 per capita. Free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, to be issued direct to the public was also demanded. Vigorous opposition to banks of issue, either State or national, and to interest bearing bonds was expressed and the Acts of 1873 and 1893,² were bitterly denounced. These two acts, it was said, had the effect through the setting up of the gold standard of reducing the laborers and producers of this country to the level of pauper labor in the Old World. The old demands of a national graduated income tax and the direct election of United States senators were reaffirmed.

The remainder of the platform was devoted to State issues.

The immediate repeal of the Metropolitan police law was asked for. This was a law passed by the legislature of 1893, which applied to cities between ten and thirty-five thousand population. By the terms of the law three police commissioners were to be appointed by the governor. These commissioners were to have complete control over the police in the cities coming within the scope of the law. The law was

¹ *Indianapolis News*, Jan. 4, 1894. *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Jan. 4, 1894.

² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Jan. 4, 1894.

³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 22, 1894.

⁴ The act repealing the Sherman Silver Purchasing Act.

aimed mainly to prevent political corruption in the appointment and removal of policemen. By its terms no policeman was to be removed henceforth on account of his political beliefs. The Populists objected to the law because, as they said, it interfered with local home rule.¹

Another plank, a natural demand for a third party to make, struck at that part of the election law which prohibited minority representation on election boards.

Further, a constitutional convention to revise the State constitution² was demanded, the changes contemplated being reform in the system of taxation, the initiative and referendum and the placing of the veto power of important laws in the hands of the people. The old demand made in the conventions of 1890 and again in 1892, that debtors should not be taxed on their bona-fide indebtedness, was reiterated. Moreover, it was demanded that debtors in paying their debts should pay in gold, silver or any lawful money without any previous discriminatory agreement. This was a blow at the "gold bugs" who it was charged conducted their transactions in gold at the expense of the poor.

In regard to labor, the Populists were explicit and reasonable. They declared against child labor and convict labor in competition with free workmen. According to their plan, convicts should be put to work building and improving public roads. They favored industrial arbitration, an employer's liability law and the reduction of working hours by legal enactment. They also advocated municipal ownership of public utilities and the construction of public works by the State and by communities.

General demands were a homestead law, an inheritance tax of five per cent on sums above \$2,000 for the benefit of the State sinking fund, more efficiency in the administration of the public school funds, and the conformation of the State naturalization laws to the national laws on that subject.¹

¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, December 1, 1894.

² The demand for a constitutional convention had been made by various minor parties, notably the Prohibitionists, for some time. The agitation has finally resulted in the act for a constitutional convention of September, 1917, the change in the basic law taking the form of a new constitution because of the difficulty of amending the old one.

¹ The idea here involved was that no foreigner be allowed to vote unless he was a naturalized citizen. As it was, the qualifications were merely one year's residence and declaration of intention to become a citizen.

There was also a resolution declaring for woman's suffrage and one expressing alarm over the liquor traffic. In doing away with the traffic, the initiative and referendum was urged as the best remedy. As usual, the party was guarded and equivocal in its expressions in regard to prohibition, no doubt through fear of being identified with the Prohibitionists.

The ticket put out by the convention was as follows:

Secretary of State, Dr. C. A. Robinson,¹ of Fountaintown; Auditor of State, Edgar A. Perkins, of Indianapolis; Treasurer of State, A. B. Keepert, of Logansport; Attorney-General, Silas M. Holcomb, of Tipton; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Capt. J. H. Allen, of Terre Haute; Clerk of the Supreme Court, J. Harry Montgomery, of Lawrence county; Statistician, William P. Smith, of Indianapolis; State Geologist, Edward Kindle, of Bloomington; Judge of Supreme Court in Fourth District, D. W. Chambers.

The high water mark of the independent Populist vote was reached on this ticket, Dr. C. A. Robinson, the candidate for secretary of State, receiving 29,388 votes, or five per cent of the total.²

(To be continued.)

¹ President of the Indiana F. M. B. A. At present, (1917) Riley impersonator and platform lecturer. Residence, Greenfield.

² The Populist percentage of the respective total votes for the election years from 1890 to 1900 are as follows: 1890 3 per cent, 1892 4 per cent, 1894 5 per cent, 1896 1.3 per cent, 1898 1+ per cent, 1900 1/5 per cent.

Edward A. Hannegan

By JOHN WESLEY WHICKER, Attica, Indiana.

Edward A. Hannegan came into Fountain county, Indiana, about 1825 and lived for probably one year with a brother-in-law who had erected a grist mill in the northern part of the county. In 1825-6 he worked for the farmers on Shawnee prairie in Fountain county. In the winter of 1826 he taught school in the northern part of the county and in 1826-7, while teaching school and working by the month for the farmers on Shawnee prairie, he was admitted to the bar in Fountain county to practice law and at once entered into the practice. A little later, on May 7, 1829, he was admitted to practice law in Warren county, Indiana, and located at Williamsport, but remained there only a few months when he moved to Covington, which had been selected as the county seat of Fountain county.

In the organization of the General Assembly in 1829 he was chosen as enrolling clerk. This was the first public office he held. At this time, 1829, the lawyers followed the judge over his entire circuit and were called circuit riders. Hannegan rode the judicial circuit in which he practiced with Judge John R. Porter as president judge.

He was elected to the office of prosecuting attorney for the judicial district in 1830. In 1832 he was elected from his congressional district in Indiana to congress as a Democrat, defeating Albert S. White of Lafayette, and served his district in congress until 1840, when he was defeated by Henry S. Lane of Crawfordsville. He distinguished himself in congress as an orator, and Webster said of him: "Had Hannegan entered congress before I entered it I fear I never should have been known for my eloquence."

On August 5, 1838, while yet a member of congress, Hannegan was made a colonel in the State militia and was stationed

at Fort Plymouth, Indiana, on account of trouble with the Indians.

In 1842 he was elected to succeed O. H. Smith in the United States senate. At this time the Democratic and Whig parties were almost evenly matched in the general assembly in the State of Indiana; so closely that one or two votes would determine the contest. On the first ballot O. H. Smith, the Whig candidate, received 72 votes and Tilghman A. Howard, the Democratic candidate, received 74 votes. Joseph G. Marshall, a Whig, received one vote. The second ballot the vote stood as follows: O. H. Smith, the Whig, received 73 votes, Tilghman A. Howard, the Democratic candidate, received 74 votes. Neither received enough votes to elect.

As a criminal lawyer Edward A. Hannegan had won a reputation that extended over the State of Indiana. He was called to Switzerland county, Indiana, to defend a man accused of murder. He cleared the man. The man was very poor and could not pay Hannegan anything for his work, but in the presence of his son he and his son, a boy of about sixteen years of age, pledged themselves that in payment for his attorney fees in this particular case, if the opportunity ever came, to repay him by supporting him for any office he might wish, regardless of politics, they would do so. The man he had cleared soon afterward, sickened and died and dying pledged his son to carry out their promise to Edward A. Hannegan. A few years later the son of the man was stricken with hasty consumption and was nearing the end, but was yet able to ride in a buggy or other conveyance for an hour or more.

When the election came the Whig candidate for the State senate in that district was Daniel Kelso. The district was very close and Kelso went to the dying man to get him to go to the polls and vote. Kelso was a Whig and the dying man told Kelso that if he would pledge himself to vote for Edward A. Hannegan for the United States senate they could take him to the polls and he would vote for Kelso for the State senate. With this pledge Kelso hauled the dying man to the polls; he voted for Kelso and Kelso was elected by one vote.

On this second ballot this Daniel Kelso, a Whig, voted for

Edward A. Hannegan, a Democrat, and continued to vote for him. In the sixth ballot the Democrats dropped Tilghman A. Howard and supported Hannegan who then received 76 votes and was thus elected by one vote to the United States senate in 1843. The Whigs accused Kelso of selling his vote and by public resolution renounced him.

In the Democratic caucus of the United States congress to determine whether or not we would declare war on Mexico in 1846, the vote was a tie, Hannegan not voting, and in that caucus Hannegan cast the one vote, the decisive vote in favor of declaring war, and thus the one vote of the dying man in Switzerland county, Indiana, added to the domains of the United States of America all of the territory that came to the United States as a result of the Mexican War. And this the politicians use today to show the value of one vote.

In 1849 Hannegan was defeated by Governor James Whitcomb for the United States senate. On the 29th day of March, 1849, Hannegan was appointed by President Polk as minister to the court of Prussia and the queen of Prussia became so infatuated with this eloquent Hoosier representative that His Majesty the Kaiser grew jealous and when on a state occasion Hannegan broke all rules of courts and etiquette and kissed the hand of the queen, the Kaiser requested that Hannegan be recalled, he having served about two years.

In the county election in 1851 there were three candidates for representative in the lower house of the legislature from Fountain county. Hannegan was the Democratic candidate, William Piatt, for whom Piatt county, Illinois, was named, ran independent and received 80 votes. Hannegan received 997 votes and Jacob Dice, a United Brethren preacher and the Whig candidate, received 1,165 votes and was elected.

As the politicians gathered in the courthouse yard in the dusk of the autumn evening and the returns came in from the out townships, Hannegan, realizing his defeat, said: "The gloom of this night is the winding sheet of my political career." He immediately entered the race for the nomination for President of the United States on the Democratic ticket, had secured pledges of nine States to support him and it looked as though nothing would prevent his being the Democratic nominee for President in the following election.

Franklin Pierce was then unknown and Hannegan had been the only man in the United States senate from the middle west on the Democratic side of the house who could cope with Daniel Webster in eloquence and debate, and it seemed that his nomination was certain. In the stress of the canvass he drank too much and came home for a little rest and to sober up. He and his wife were living with his wife's brother, Capt. John R. Duncan, at Covington. Duncan had distinguished himself for bravery and won his title of captain in the Mexican War and was greatly interested in the welfare and political career of his brother-in-law and felt that the drink habit was growing on Hannegan to the point of jeopardizing Hannegan's chances for the nomination and thought it best that Hannegan should know it.

Hannegan's wife agreed with Duncan, but did not like to talk to Hannegan about it. (Perhaps she had taken him to task for the incident with the queen of Prussia and still had unpleasant memories of the occasion.) At least it was left to the brother-in-law to speak to Hannegan about curbing his habit of drink. A quarrel followed and Mrs. Hannegan took Hannegan by the arm and started upstairs with him. The conversation fired Hannegan to great anger and as his wife started to pull him to the stairway he snatched a dagger from the mantle in the room and drove it to the hilt in the neck of Duncan, his brother-in-law.

This was on the 6th day of May, 1852. Duncan died the next day. Upon his death he declared that no blame should be attached to Hannegan. The only official record that is left of the Hannegan-Duncan tragedy is the following short entry in the order book among the records in the clerk's office at Covington:

SIXTH JUDICIAL DAY OF THE SEPTEMBER TERM OF COURT, 1852.
STATE OF INDIANA,
vs.

E. A. HANNEGAN, on a charge of manslaughter.

Comes now the said defendant and no bill of indictment having been found by the grand jury, it is ordered by the court that the said defendant be discharged and go hence without day.

Signed: September 18, 1852, by J. NAYLOR, Judge.

Lew Wallace (afterwards general in the federal army in the War of the Rebellion, minister to the court of Turkey and author of *The Fair God* and *Ben-Hur*) had been elected prosecuting attorney of the district. On account of this finding of the grand jury and the fact that in the presence of Mr. Wallace, Hannegan had been permitted to state his case to the grand jury which was the most dramatic incident perhaps ever occurring before a grand jury in Indiana and on account of bitter criticism by Isaac A. Rice, who at that time was publishing a paper at Covington and was an eloquent lawyer of note, Wallace tendered his resignation as prosecuting attorney and moved to Crawfordsville, county seat of the adjoining county. Daniel W. Voorhees, afterwards the eloquent United States senator from Indiana, was appointed prosecuting attorney to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of Wallace. Voorhees refused to have the grand jury review the case, served the unexpired term of Wallace and on account of severe criticism moved from Covington to Terre Haute.

Isaac A. Rice had been so bitter in his denunciation of Voorhees and Wallace that he too moved from Covington with the paper that he was editing and located in Attica. The paper that he brought with him from Covington to Attica is still in existence and is now the *Attica Ledger*. Isaac A. Rice was elected State senator from his district in 1856 and was nominated for congress in 1860 and would have been elected to congress, but while making a speech at Delphi in his congressional race he dropped dead. He was yet a young man, an able editor and an eloquent public speaker.

Hannegan was never the same man after the tragedy. He abandoned his presidential aspirations and for a few years continued to practice law at Covington. His prestige was gone and his drink habit grew on him. He moved to Saint Louis, Missouri, and opened a law office there (his son had previously located in Saint Louis), and for two years he prospered and concluded to again enter politics in a new field away from the sad memories of the tragedy that had ended his political career in Indiana.

In the meantime his wife, who had been very devoted to him, had died and the whiskey habit still remained with him.

He had also become addicted to the use of morphine but in spite of all these habits he was still an eloquent orator. He could still charm a jury in the court room, and he gathered about him a few over-zealous friends who insisted that he should start a new political career.

It was planned that in January, 1859, a great meeting should be held in Saint Louis and the principal address was to be made by Hannegan. This was the period preceding the nominations of the Presidential election of 1860. Hannegan's address was planned to advance the interests of Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidency and again to bring the speaker into prominence.

The meeting was carefully arranged and well advertised. The audience was everything that those who had the meeting in charge could have wished and the promoters were elated at their prospects. But the mills of the gods are relentless. Hannegan had worshipped long at the shrine of Bacchus and again Bacchus claimed his toll. Realizing that upon the success of this speech depended his success or failure in his last effort to gain political prominence, Hannegan resorted to both whiskey and morphine for stimulant. The man who made the introductory speech reviewed the public life of Hannegan at length and talked too long. When at last he presented the distinguished and able speaker the alcohol and opium had passed the stage of stimulant and had reached the stage of stupefaction. Hannegan made an address, but it lacked the brilliancy and power of oratory which his hearers had been led to expect, and not only did it fall flat but was a disappointment to the promoters, to the audience and to Hannegan. Those who had planned the meeting severely upbraided him for his indulgence at such a critical time, but Hannegan realized more keenly than they how completely he had failed. Sad and broken-hearted he left the meeting and went to his room, stung by the criticism of his over-confident friends and depressed by the sense of his own humiliation and was never seen alive after that inauspicious night.

The next morning his dead body was found in his bed. Upon his retirement on the night of the 24th day of January, 1859, he had taken an overdose of morphine, whether to in-

duce sleep and rest from his troubled past or with suicidal intent will never be known.

Harriet Martineau, the famous English writer, who visited Washington while Hannegan was in congress, thought him the most eloquent man in congress, preferring him to Webster.

Julia Henderson Levering, who was born in Covington and lived there until she was probably fourteen years of age, says in her publication, *Historic Indiana*:

Covington was a very thriving town in those days, with the lively commerce of the new canal and river, and far eclipsed the capital of the state in business prospects. In the village there was a brilliant coterie of young men, who had settled there because of the flattering business outlook. Many of them became famous afterwards in State and national politics. Such men as Senator Edward Hannegan, Judge Henry Ristine, Daniel Voorhees, David Briar, Daniel Mace and Lew Wallace resided in the town, with many others equally honorable, but who attained less fame.

Again she says:

There was also much bluster throughout the west during President Polk's campaign over the claims of Great Britain regarding Oregon. With the other States west of the Alleghenies, Indiana joined in the cry of her own United States Senator, Edward Hannegan, of "*Fifty-four forty or fight.*"

Hannegan was ever fond of his home, of Covington, the Wabash valley and Wabash river. Often he would leave Washington during a session of congress to go home and fish and hunt and regain his health along the banks of the Wabash. Once he said to a friend: "Come go home with me and let me show you the lovely valley of the Wabash." Again on a hot day in Washington: "I can endure these hot and crowded halls no longer, I must have free air and space in which to roam, I would like to fish and hunt where I pleased and when I pleased; come go home with me, and see how I live in Indiana, and the beauty of the Wabash river and the Wabash valley."

In closing a speech in congress, Hannegan himself described better than anyone else the feeling and the sentiment

that inspired him through his political career, through his tragedy and on to the end of his life in this beautiful paragraph:

For the singleness and sincerity of my motives I appeal to Heaven; by them I am willing to be judged now and hereafter when prostrate at Thy feet, O God, I falter forth my last brief prayer for mercy on an erring life.

Reviews and Notes

NEBRASKA HISTORY is the title of the official publication of the Nebraska State Historical Society. It is a monthly in magazine form, edited by Addison E. Sheldon for the society, and devoted to the publication of material relating to the pioneer days of the State. The society has about 450 members.

THE Indiana Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis is issuing a circular called the *Stimulator* to arouse among the voters an interest in the foundation of a State Sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis. The first number was published October 9, 1918.

THE *History Teachers' Magazine* has changed its name to the *Historical Outlook*. Albert E. McKinley remains its managing editor. It is an organ of the American Historical Association. Among its advisory editors is Oscar H. Williams, High School Inspector of Indiana, and on the National Board of Historical Service which closely cooperates with the editorial board of the *Historical Outlook* is Dr. S. B. Harding, also of Indiana.

THE *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for 1916-17* were published as an extra number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in October. The papers of this number were read at the Chicago meeting April 26-28, 1917. The *Proceedings* were prepared by Prof. Beverly W. Bond, of Purdue. Articles by Indiana men are "The Coming of the Circuit Riders Across the Mountains," by Dr. W. W. Sweet, of DePauw, and "Possibilities in State Historical Celebrations," by Harlow Lindley, of Earlham.

THE *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for June contains an account of the "Memphis Railroad Convention of 1849," by R. S. Cotterill, and a continuation of Albert G. Goodpasture's

"Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807."

THE October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a continuation of "Gottfried Duden's Report, 1824-27." This is a valuable addition to the pioneer literature of the Mississippi Valley.

THE SURVEY is under obligations to the Curator of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, for a copy of a catalog of the portraits and other works of art now contained in that building. These number about 400, including portraits of nearly all the well-known characters of the Revolution. The booklet contains large portraits of many of the signers of the Declaration.

Government in Indiana, a supplement to S. E. Forman's *Advanced Civics* and also to his *American Republic*, is the title of a small manual prepared by C. V. Haworth, superintendent of the Kokomo city schools. The pamphlet is a brief commentary and analysis of the State constitution in manual form. The duties and powers of the various officers and boards of State, county, city and township are given.

THE *Michigan History Magazine* for April contains the "Pageant of Escanaba," by Supt. F. E. King, of the Escanaba schools. There are also articles by William L. Jenks on the "Creation of the Territory of Michigan," "James B. Angell and the University of Michigan," by Wilfred B. Shaw, and "Reminiscences of the Macinac Country," by Brayton Saltonstall.

THE following letter indicates the progress being made in beautifying and marking the Vicksburg battlefields, now a national park:

War Department,
Vicksburg National Military Park Commission.
Vicksburg, Miss., Apr. 16, 1918.

Logan Esarey, Editor,
Indiana Magazine of History,
Bloomington, Indiana.

DEAR SIR:

The park commission invites your best efforts on behalf

of an appropriation by the Indiana legislature for a State memorial in the Vicksburg National Military Park, on the commanding area inclosed by Indiana circle, and near where two guns of the First Indiana Battery were served.

By authority of the legislature, at a cost of \$38,000 the State commission placed in the park 16 beautiful monuments that bear the record of each of the 28 Indiana organizations engaged in the Vicksburg operations, and 53 massive markers. The War Department authorized bronze portraits of 9 Indiana officers (Alexander, Benton, Hovey, Keigwin, Kimball, Lucas, McGinnis, Shunk, Washburn) placed in it, at the cost of the park funds. The commission secured a bronze portrait of one Indiana officer (Slack), as a gift to the park.

It remains for the legislature to complete this work by an appropriation to commemorate on this battlefield park the devotion to duty, steadfast patriotism, and heroic services of Indiana soldiers in the Vicksburg operations.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM T. RIGSBY,
Chairman, Park Commission.

THE *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for September, 1917, contains an account of Lafayette's Visit to New Orleans by Judge Henry Renshaw, and a paper of about 90 pages on General James Wilkinson by his great grandson, James Wilkinson.

Special Report Concerning Common School Funds is a booklet of 89 pages issued by Gilbert H. Hendren, State examiner. The booklet contains an interesting and valuable historical account of the school funds by George Pence, one of the State fund examiners. This is the best account of the origin and present condition of the different funds available. Every fund is treated separately and the acts quoted creating them. Under the Seminary Fund is given a list of the seminaries chartered by the State with date and location of each. The distribution to each county is given, together with the dates and amounts belonging to each county. The booklet represents an immense amount of very careful work by Mr. Pence.

PART IX *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society* of London, Ontario, contains an interesting account of the Wilberforce Refugee Colony in Middlesex county. This colony was composed almost entirely of colored refugees who crossed the Ohio on the Ohio and Indiana borders before the Civil War. It was the haven of most of the colored run-aways assisted by the Underground Railway in Indiana during the exciting period of the Fugitive Slave law. The article is by Fred Landon, Public Librarian of London.

THE *Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane* for the year ending Sept. 30, 1917, has recently been issued. This hospital is located at Richmond and is under the superintendency of Dr. Samuel E. Smith. The enrollment for the year was 891. There were 146 new cases admitted; 64 discharged and 65 deaths; whole number under treatment for the year was 1,037. The cost per capita was \$217.37. This hospital was opened August 1, 1890, since when 4,185 patients have been admitted, 2,165 men and 2,020 women.

ALMOST the entire space of the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is taken up with Dan E. Clark's article on the "Frontier Defense of Iowa, 1850-1865." Other articles are "Wheat and Cotton During the Civil War," by Louis Bernard Schmidt, and "The Ages of the Soldiers in the Civil War," by W. W. Gist.

IN the July *Missouri Historical Review* is an account by R. S. Cotterill, of the National Railroad Convention in St. Louis in 1849. The main purpose of this convention was to further the project of a Pacific Railroad. Abner T. Ellis, of Vincennes, was temporary chairman. Indiana was represented by 35 delegates. Judge Stephen A. Douglas presided. One of the leading members was O. H. Smith, of Indiana, whose address on this occasion is preserved in his *Trials and Sketches*, page 400.

THE ADDRESS of Amos W. Butler, Secretary of the State Board of Charities, delivered at the State Conference of Char-

ities and Corrections at Emporia, Kansas, October 30, 1917, has been issued in pamphlet form. Mr. Butler deals in a historical way with one of the greatest questions now confronting government in America. The care of defectives and unfortunates is rapidly coming to be one of the heaviest financial burdens of society. Mr. Butler has devoted his life to the study of this problem and has earned a nation-wide reputation. The subject of his address is "Colonies for Public Wards." At the meeting of the American Prison Association at New Orleans, Nov. 20, 1917, Mr. Butler spoke on "A State Board of Charities and Corrections." In this address which was printed in pamphlet form, the speaker pointed out the benefits to Indiana resulting from such a board.

THE July *Michigan History Magazine* contains an article by William H. Hathaway of Milwaukee on "County Organization in Michigan." Besides an historical account of the formation of each county, there is a series of maps showing the changes in county lines from year to year.

THE July *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has an excellent article by Mrs. Agnes M. Hays Gormley on "The Rappite Community at Economy and at New Harmony." Mrs. Gormley was well acquainted with the brothers and sisters of the Harmony Society and writes with a sympathy not always shown by historians. Although brief, it is one of the best accounts available of that strange community.

Another valuable article in the July number is a letter by William Henry Harrison accepting the nomination to the presidency from the Anti-Masonic Convention held at Philadelphia in 1838.

National School Service is the title of a journal which appeared from Washington, D. C., September 1. The editorial staff is headed by Dr. Guy Stanton Ford. The historical section of the journal is under the supervision of Dr. Samuel B. Harding. The purpose of the paper is to furnish the teachers with reliable governmental information. The paper is sent free to school teachers.

THE *Seventeenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry and of the State Park Committee*, by Richard Lieber, State Forester, and Charles C. Deam, his assistant, is reprinted from the *Year Book*. The forest lands of the State are estimated at 3,000,000 acres. The State Park committee is a result of the late centennial celebration and seems to be the only thing of lasting importance resulting from that agitation. Two parks have been laid out and are now owned by the State, one known as McCormick's Creek Canyon in Owen county, the other as Turkey Run, in Parke county. The former cost \$5,253, the latter \$41,075.

THE *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, published by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, made its initial appearance in July. The first number is a neat booklet of 144 pages. Every article in it is of historical interest to Indiana readers, but especially is the one on Pierre Gibault by Joseph J. Thompson, editor of the magazine. Indiana also claims Gibault as one of its pioneer heroes. "Early Catholicity in Chicago," by Gilbert J. Garragas, and "The Illinois Missions," by Joseph J. Thompson, are other articles that bear closely on early Indiana history.

THE June *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* continues the Diary of Bishop Flaget. During the period covered in this issue the Bishop was at Bardstown, Kentucky.

VOLUME I, *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission* is devoted entirely to the papers of Thomas Ruffin. The papers of Judge Ruffin cover the period from 1803 to 1830. A memorial oration by William Graham, a chronology of his life and a calendar of the letters precede the papers in the volume.

Journal of Thomas Dean. Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. 6, No. 2. Edited by JOHN CANDEE DEAN, annotated by RANDLE C. DEAN. Indianapolis, 1918. Price, 50 cents.

This journey, of which this journal is the record, was made from Deansboro, N. Y., to central Indiana during the summer of 1817. The party, consisting of Dean and some Brothertown Indians, left home May 31 and passed down Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, French Creek, Allegheny river, Ohio river, up the Wabash, across the central part of Indiana via Fort Wayne to Detroit. Mr. Dean was in search of a western home for the Brothertown Indians, who finally settled on Fox river, Wisconsin. The trip was made in a large keel boat or schooner of 6 tons burden. The party made from 50 to 70 miles per day on the western trip, going from Pittsburg to Cincinnati in 6 days; from Cincinnati to Louisville in 2 days; from Louisville to the mouth of the Wabash in 10 days; or the entire distance of 1,003 miles in 15 days. Traveling up the Wabash was found much more difficult on account of the rapids and shallow water.

The comments made by Dean on the general condition of the western country and especially on such places as New Harmony, Vincennes and the Shaker settlement on the Busseron prairie are interesting and valuable. The journal is plain though a little more editorial explanation here and there would have helped the ordinary reader. It is one of the most valuable papers published by the Society. If the editors have any more such material in their possession they should by all means make it available in some such way as they have this.

L. E.

The Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875. By WILMER C. HARRIS, Ph.D. (*Michigan Historical Publications, University Series, II.*) (Lansing, Historical Commission, 1917, pp. 152, \$1.00.)

This is a plain account of the public career of Zach. Chandler, the noted Republican political leader of Michigan, from his election as mayor of Detroit in 1851 to his sudden death while a senator of the United States in 1879. These years marked stirring times, during which Chandler was engaged in much party activity and in many political controversies. Dr. Harris in his brief monographic sketch is able to touch only lightly on varied subjects of much historical importance. The mono-

graph is intended to supplement, not to supersede, the *Post and Tribune Life of Chandler*, which was written from partial and friendly motives. Dr. Harris writes without bias or partizanship and is far from being a eulogist. He merely sets forth, with very little of either commendation or disapproval, the party record of Chandler and his position on public policies. We see Chandler as an early Whig candidate for governor of Michigan in 1852; as one of the founders of the Republican party in 1854, as the successor of Lewis Cass in the Senate in 1857; as a Radical Republican in that body during the Civil War and Reconstruction times, till his defeat for re-election in 1875; as Secretary of the Interior for a time under President Grant; as chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1876; and again as United States Senator to fill an unexpired term.

The author finds in Chandler a "typical product of his time," a "fire-eater of the Northwest," and an "exponent of practical spoils politics," one who was a political manager of great strength, who never hesitated to build and use a party machine in order to promote his own political ambition and to keep himself in power. The kind of radical that Chandler was before the Civil War is shown by his being ever ready to meet southern threats of disunion with counter-threats of hanging rebels, and by his proposal to his Republican colleagues to stand up in the face of Southern insults with bold challenges to fight—"to carry the quarrel into a coffin." He knew no compromise. If the right of secession were to be conceded, or if the South had to be "let alone" to break up the Union, he wished to know it. Then Chandler would resign his seat in the Senate, arrange his business affairs, and prepare to migrate, as he proposed never to live in a country whose government "had no power to enforce its own laws." He preferred to join the Comanche Indians. His famous letter about "stiff-backed men" and a little "blood-letting" as a cement to the Union finds its due recognition in the essay.

One is disappointed to find that only a very few lines are given to Mr. Chandler's connection with the campaign and disputed election of 1876, when the cause of "a civil service reform candidate was managed by a dyed-in-the-wool spoils-

man." Chandler's telegram is given, announcing Hays' election with 185 electoral votes, but nothing is told of what Chandler did in the winter of 1876-1877 to make that famous telegram good. It is so with many other subjects of importance; everything is brief, sometimes to the point of leaving one quite unsatisfied. However, such defects are incident to the nature of the task. The volume, on the whole, is a credit to the author and it is one of distinct value to the student of American politics. It contains a good deal of Michigan political history. Valuable material is presented from Chandler's letters, and an informing chapter on the racial and religious elements in Michigan's voting on historic issues. The volume has a good index and a full biography.

J. A. W.

THE POTTAWATTOMIES

Miss Frances Emerson, of Plymouth, has recently presented the library with a valuable collection of books and pamphlets relating to these Indians. Recent interest in this tribe of Indians is largely due to the efforts of the late Daniel McDonald, of Plymouth. As a member of the house of representatives in 1905, he secured an appropriation for a monument to the Pottawattomies at Twin Lakes in Marshall county. It will be recalled from history that here is where the tribe was assembled preparatory to being transported to their new reservation in Kansas in August, 1838. The address of Mr. McDonald in support of the bill for erecting the monument is included in this collection. This address and another delivered by the same author at the unveiling of the monument, September 4, 1909 (also included in the collection), deal with the history of the tribe. Previous to this, Mr. McDonald, who was an editor at Plymouth, had prepared and published a volume on the *Removal of the Pottawattomies*. This volume of 59 pages the author published previously in 1899.

In addition to these, Miss Emerson included a volume entitled *Queen of the Woods*, by Leopold Pokagon, last chief of the band which bears his name. Pokagon was born at Pokagon village, a few miles north of South Bend, in 1830, and died near Hartford, Michigan, January 25, 1899. Besides

this were three small booklets printed on birch bark paper, entitled *Algonquin Legend of South Haven*, *Algonquin Legend of Paw Paw Lake*, *Pottawattomie Book of Genesis* and the *Red Man's Rebuke*, all by the old chief. The SURVEY acknowledges obligation for the gift. All of the books are out of print and hard to find.

THE JASPER COURIER

Ben Ed Doane, editor of the *Courier*, has recently deposited with the library a complete file, 60 volumes, of the *Courier*. This is the oldest paper in Dubois county, having been established in 1858 by John Mehringer, Rudolphus Smith and Clement Doane. Mr. Doane, father of the present editor, was the editor and manager. From then till now father and son have conducted it. There are only a few papers in the State that have been edited so long by father and son and still fewer that have unbroken files through so long a period.

GROVER CLEVELAND

The following letter is printed at the request of the Division of Archives and History of New York:

DEAR SIR—I should be grateful if friends of Mr. Cleveland who possess published addresses or other critical comment of historical value concerning his policies or character, or letters to or from him, or personal recollections of incidents connected with his life, which would be of interest in the preparation of a biography, would communicate as soon as practical with Mr. William Gorham Rice of Albany. Any such comment, letters, and accounts of incidents will be acknowledged and will be carefully returned if the sender so desires.

It is my hope that Mr. Rice, aided by such material and by his own already existing collection, may feel disposed to undertake a biography of Mr. Cleveland during the ensuing year.

The assembled letters, comment, publications and records now proposed to be brought together, will be deposited ultimately in the State Library at Albany for the use of Dr. John H. Finley, who some time ago invited Mr. Rice to collaborate with him, or whoever finally may prepare a definitive and documented biography. The collection thus deposited will also be of permanent value because of its accessibility to anyone who in the future may desire to obtain for historical or other purposes knowledge of Mr. Cleveland's traits, and his opinions and administrative record on public questions.

Mr. Rice was a secretary to Governor Cleveland in Albany and was

later, by President Cleveland's appointment, a United States Civil Service Commissioner at Washington, and is now a New York State Civil Service Commissioner. He was associated with Mr. Cleveland from 1882 onward, and was always an esteemed and devoted friend.

Inquiries concerning the requests and suggestions made in this letter may be addressed to Mr. Rice at his residence, 135 Washington Avenue, Albany, or at the Capitol, Albany.

I am, very truly yours,

FRANCES F. CLEVELAND PRESTON.

Year Book of the State of Indiana for the year 1917. Compiled and published under the direction of JAMES P. GOODRICH, Governor. Indianapolis, 1918, pp. 883.

"The *Indiana Year Book* provided for by the legislature of 1917, and herewith presented, is the first attempt of this State to give to the people in simplified and brief form a report of the operation of the various offices, departments and institutions, together with such documents, facts and statistics as make up a general reference work for the State."

Of late the publication of the reports of the various State officers has come to be a serious financial burden. Moreover, no one cared to have his private library monopolized with the twenty to seventy volumes of annual and biennial reports. It is the purpose of the governor to give the people a simplified yet complete report of the State governmental business in a handy single volume. The movement is altogether commendable. The volume is well edited, well printed, on good paper and substantially bound. Such a volume can scarcely be reviewed. It is a political encyclopedia of the State and is without doubt the most valuable State publication so far issued by the State.

Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868. By ELLA LONN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in Grinnell College. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. Pp. vi, 538, \$3.00.

The field covered by Dr. Lonn's book is one of great difficulty. The partisan bitterness aroused by the struggle is still in the atmosphere. The documents on which the history must rest are all full of partisanship. The author has rightly preserved in her story enough of the contemporary expression to

give the reader a sense of this characteristic period. The story is told with commendable reserve and impartiality. There is ample evidence that the sources have been used liberally. There has been a tendency in the last decade by writers on Reconstruction to condemn without reserve the carpet-bag government. It seems that the mantle of charity which is used so freely might be used with more impartiality in this regard.

Sweeping generalizations in history are easily made. Except mere physical description they constitute the cheapest filler for the historian and likewise cause the most trouble. From this moralizing Dr. Lonn has wisely refrained. Barring a few typographical errors and lapses of the pen, the volume contains little for adverse criticism. On the other hand, the author is entitled to great praise for a patient investigation of a difficult subject. Dr. Lonn is a native of Indiana, her home being at Laporte.

L. E.

The current number (4) completes the first volume of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. The current number is taken up almost entirely with a history of Allegheny, by Charles W. Dahlinger. The story begins with 1783 and closes with 1906, when Allegheny was consolidated with Pittsburg.

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